Our 30th Year Collector's Edition

california JOURNAL

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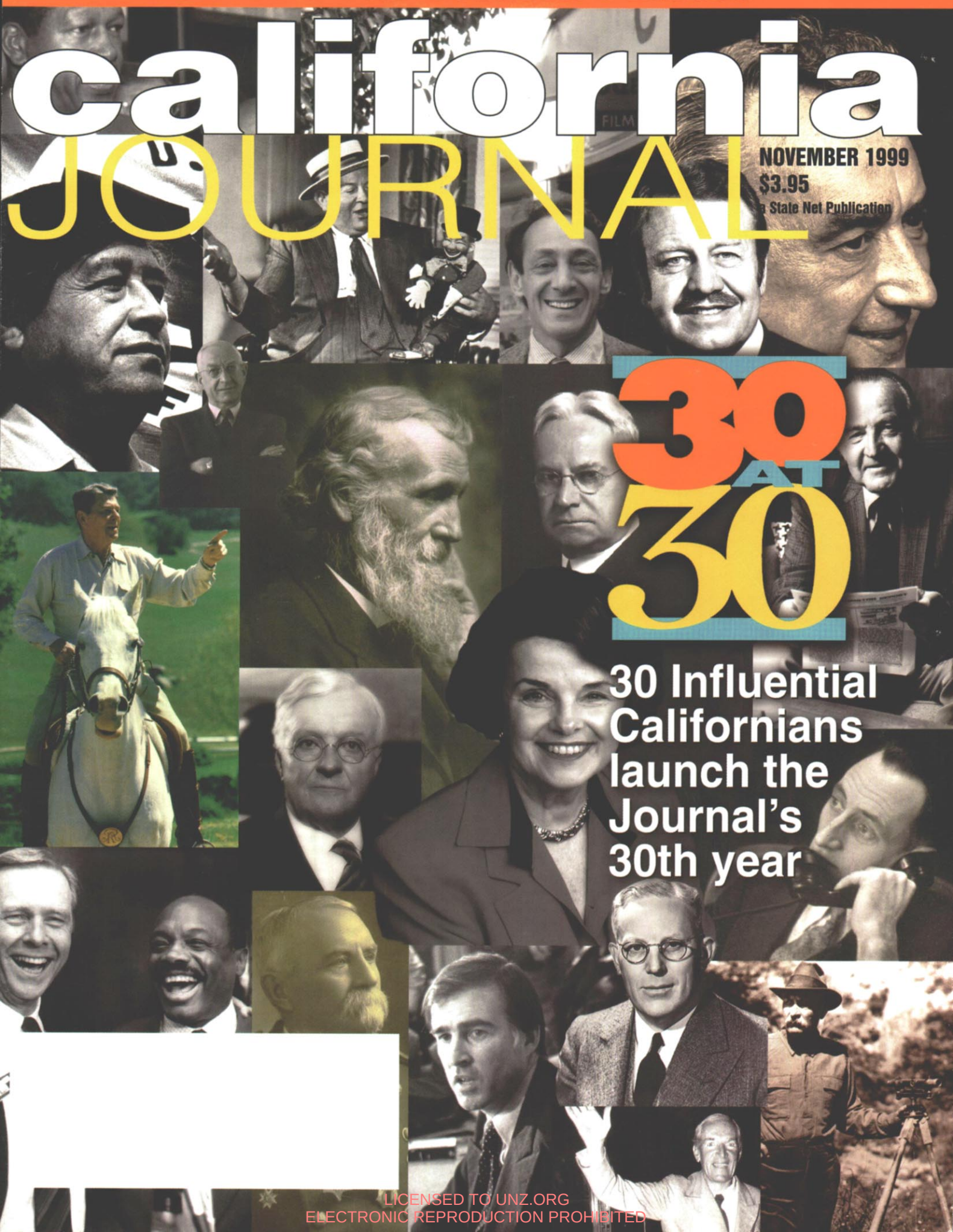

30 AT 30

30 Influential Californians launch the Journal's 30th year

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Now You Know Why They Call It "The Toughest Beat in the State"

One riot is enough for the untrained

Watching what happens during a full-fledged prison riot gives one a different perspective on the job of a correctional officer

For *Daily Triplicate* reporters Todd Wels and Scott Graves, it was a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

At least, that's what they hope.

While touring Pelican Bay State Prison with other press folks Tuesday, a riot broke out around them. Inmate-on-inmate violence is certainly not unusual in the facility – consider why these gentlemen are in prison in the first place – but the scale of Tuesday's violence surprised even veteran prison officials. Graves and Wels, non-violent fellows both, were amazed by the sight of dozens of men beating on each other.

They were also impressed at the way correctional officers responded to the situation.

Correctional officers must walk a fine line in this type of crisis. They must try to protect inmates who may be down and injured. They must try to protect themselves and each other from inmates who may have possession of a hand-made weapon. They must use enough force to end the melee, but not too much force that it is deemed excessive.

That's a lot to think about while running full speed into a yard surrounded by inmates, many of whom are behind bars for violent, even deadly crimes.

With the help of a few warning rifle shots and the use of non-lethal weapons, order was quickly restored. One correctional officer took a blow to the face, breaking her cheekbone. Injured inmates were treated for a variety of wounds, none terribly serious.

The reputation of correctional officers over the past five years has been tarnished by the action of a few, at Pelican Bay and other California institutions.

Because of that, it's easy to forget that the vast majority of COs are not violent, blood-thirsty savages, despite the claims of some inmate-rights groups. They are ordinary men and women, trained for a job that is often described as long periods of boredom followed by short moments of pure terror.

Few people ever witness a situation such as the one that happened Tuesday. Some of the press tour members were visibly shaken by the experience. For those correctional officers who raced into the scene to protect the victims, the aggressors – and even the reporters – it was another day on the job.

The Daily Triplicate, September 2, 1999

"...surrounded by inmates, many of whom are behind bars for violent, even deadly crimes."

"One correctional officer took a blow to the face, breaking her cheekbone."

"...impressed at the way correctional officers responded to the situation."

"For those correctional officers who raced into the scene to protect the victims ...it was another day on the job."

On average, five correctional officers are assaulted by inmates every day in California prisons.

California Correctional Peace Officers Association • 755 Riverpoint Drive • West Sacramento, California 95605 • 916-372-6060

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california JOURNAL

November 1999
Volume XXX, Number 11

Our Contributors

Upfront

Washington Perspective
by Michael Barone

A tribute

by Cynthia H. Craft

In this special commemorative issue, we deliver the long view of California's public policy timeline in the 20th century. Only in the *California Journal* will you find such a deep level of commitment to public service journalism, and for so many years. This is because of our longtime editor, A.G. Block.

A.G. has been an editor at this magazine for more than half of its 30-year lifespan. He became its managing editor in 1983, and its editor in 1995. During these nearly 17 years, he has guided our coverage firmly toward nonpartisan objectivity — having no greater agenda than to promote a healthy democracy by informing the electorate.

This issue of *California Journal*, as hefty as two of our usual volumes, is a keeper. It's safe to say it is worth a permanent spot on the bookshelf. And, notably to us here at the *Journal*, it is also a tribute to A.G.'s unrelenting commitment to better inform those who care about California public policy — our readers.

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By A.G. Block

Design by
Dagmar Thompson

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Editor's note: *The list of California luminaries profiled in this special edition of* California Journal *is noteworthy. So, too, is the roster of those who contributed knowledge and talent to write the profiles. Their presence on these pages is a tribute to the* Journal *and to the level of respect this publication has accrued during its 30-year lifetime. We, in turn, are honored that they shared their artistry on our behalf.*

Richard Atkinson (Robert Gordon Sproul) is president of the University of California.

Michael Barone (Washington Perspective) is senior editor of *U.S. News & World Report* and editor of "The Almanac of American Politics."

Ingrid Becker (Stanley Mosk) is a reporter with KQED radio, the National Public Radio affiliate in San Francisco.

A.G. Block (Pete Wilson) is editor of *California Journal.*

Bill Boyarsky (Jesse Unruh) is city editor of *The Los Angeles Times* and is preparing a biography of Jesse Unruh.

Noel Brinkerhoff (Harvey Milk) is associate editor of *California Journal* and editor of *State Net Capitol Journal, California.*

Lou Cannon (Carey McWilliams, Ronald Reagan) is a contributing editor of *California Journal.* He is a former political reporter for *The Washington Post* and the author of six books, including "President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime" and "Official Negligence: How Rodney King and the Riots Changed Los Angeles and the LAPD."

Robert Cherny (Harry Bridges) is a professor of history at California State University, San Francisco, and is preparing a biography of Harry Bridges.

Claire Cooper (Rose Bird) is legal affairs writer for *The Sacramento Bee.*

Cynthia H. Craft (John Muir) is managing editor of *California Journal* and a former Sacramento-based reporter for *The Los Angeles Times.*

Ed Cray (Earl Warren) is a professor of journalism at the University of Southern California and the author of the award-winning "Chief Justice: A Biography of Earl Warren."

David R. Doerr (Howard Jarvis) is chief tax consultant for the California Taxpayers Association in Sacramento. He was chief consultant to the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee from 1963 to 1987.

Karen Getman (Artie Samish) is chairwoman of the California Fair Political Practices Commission.

James N. Gregory (Upton Sinclair) is an associate professor of history at the University of Washington. His publications include the introduction to a new edition of Upton Sinclair's "I, Candidate for Governor: And How I Got Licked" and "American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California."

William Hauck (A. Alan Post) is president of the California Business Roundtable and chairman of the California State University system Board of Trustees. In 1996 and 1997, he also chaired the Constitution Revision Commission.

John Jacobs (Phil Burton) is political editor of McClatchy Newspapers and author of "A Rage for Justice," a biography of Phil Burton.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe (Tom Bradley) is a contributing editor of the *California Journal.* She teaches at the Claremont Graduate University and is a noted political commentator.

Gerald Lubenow (Mervin Field), a former San Francisco bureau chief for *Newsweek*, is director of publications for the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

Jim Newton (William Parker) is a Los Angeles-based reporter for *The Los Angeles Times.*

Susan Rasky (Leone Baxter and Clem Whitaker) is a contributing editor for *California Journal.* She teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism and is a former award-winning political reporter for *The New York Times.*

James Richardson (Willie L. Brown Jr.) is a former reporter for *The Sacramento Bee* and author of "Willie Brown," a biography.

Jerry Roberts (Dianne Feinstein) is managing editor of *The San Francisco Chronicle* and author of the biography "Dianne Feinstein: Never Let Them See You Cry."

Gregory Rodriguez (Cesar Chavez) is a research scholar at the Pepperdine Institute for Public Policy and a fellow at the New America Foundation.

Steve Scott (Jerry Brown) is political editor of *California Journal.*

George Skelton (Pat Brown) is a Sacramento-based political columnist for *The Los Angeles Times.*

Bill Stall (Pete Schabarum) is a Sacramento-based editorial writer for *The Los Angeles Times.*

Kevin Starr (Hiram Johnson) is California State librarian and a noted author of numerous books on California history, including "Inventing the Dream" and "Endangered Dreams."

Art Torres (Ed Roybal), a former state senator from Los Angeles, is chairman of the California Democratic Party.

Max Vanzi (Harrison Otis and Harry Chandler) is a former Sacramento reporter for *The Los Angeles Times.*

Nancy Vogel (William Mulholland) reports on the environment and water issues for *The Sacramento Bee.*

Comments about any of the essays in this issue may be sent to edit@statenet.com.

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Our children need a complete education in order to get a successful start in life. This includes sex education. While sexuality education should teach young people how to say "no," it should also address the needs of teens who are sexually active. Effective sexuality education provides information about health, responsible decision-making and contraceptives. But the schools can't do it alone. While it may seem like they're not listening, teenagers say that the information, values and attitudes they learn from their parents are the most important factors in the sexual decisions they make.

Education

What can you do?

Find out about the sexuality education in your community's schools. Ask teens if they think the programs are working. Support medically factual sexuality education that gives information about abstinence, healthy relationships and contraceptives.

GET REAL ABOUT TEEN PREGNANCY

Teen pregnancy is also an adult problem. Let's solve it together.

To learn more, visit our website at: www.letsgetreal.org

The "Get Real About Teen Pregnancy" public education campaign is funded by a grant to Deen+Black from The California Wellness Foundation.

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umbrage

Love fest. Strip away their cynical jargon, accusatory questions and generally aggressive mein, and journalists are pretty much like everyone else. They just want to be loved, much as people are in other popular professions, such as law, tax auditing and baseball umpiring. Over 30 years, the *California Journal* has "felt the love" from both sides of the political spectrum. In 1994, conservative Assemblyman Gil Ferguson (R-Newport Beach) sent a memo to his colleagues warmly speaking of "the liberal scumbags that produce that collection of trash called the *California Journal.*" Democratic Party bulldog Bob Mulholland had this to say about a *Journal* criticism of liberal state Senator Tom Hayden (D-Santa Monica) in 1997: "Hayden will be remembered ... long after he's gone. I have a hard time remembering what the *Journal* reported last month." This unanimity of feeling from both ends of the partisan Bell Curve continues to this day. A survey of *CJ* subscribers completed earlier this year had one reader suggesting there was "too much liberal bias in story selection, sources [and] slant." The same survey also produced this comment: "Since your editorial shift to the conservative right, I have canceled my subscription."

Laugh tracks. In looking back over 30 years, this space has been the repository for the, um... "offbeat" angle on California politics and government. Most of the comments have centered on the practitioners of those crafts, but sometimes we've found ourselves turning the microscope inward. In 1981, the *Journal* wrote of how a "factory reconditioned" IBM Selectric typewriter was seized from *Journal* offices by Sacramento police after it was revealed we had inadvertently purchased stolen property. "The typewriter was traced back," we wrote then, "to the corporation which had [originally] taken the stolen machine in trade — IBM." In 1992, it was our turn to own up to a rather embarrassing gaffe — misspelling the word "intelligence" in a list ranking the smarts of lawmakers. "We want you all to know that we deliberately misspelled the word intelligence," we wrote. "We did it to, uh, make sure our readers were on their toes and paying attention. Actually we did it as a joke. Yeah, that's it. A joke. Really. A joke. Obviously, the 50,000 or so of you who phoned, faxed or wrote to us ... didn't get it."

"intellegence"

Star power. Recently, it has become clear that Warren Beatty, Arnold Schwarzenegger and even Cybill Shepherd have designs on joining the scroll of actor/politicians whom we've chronicled over three decades. As we thought ahead to the next 30 years, we imagined the following scene, in a Hollywood talent agent's office, sometime in the not-too-distant future. "Hey, babe, howya doin'? Listen, I just got finished talking you up for a TV project that is bigger than Kevin Costner's ego. Are you ready for this? How about governor of California. No, that's not the title of the project – it's the actual job! Blow you away or what? The deal is a guaranteed six-month run, but if your ratings hold, it's a four-year guarantee with an option for another four years. Exposure? Are you kidding? Remember awhile back, when Beatty mouthed off about running for prez? Look what happened! The Washington press went nutzo. But nobody ever really takes your Beattys and Schwarzeneggers seriously: No way they're giving up $15 mil a picture. We'll take a meeting next week, all right? Love ya, babe. *Ciao.*"

"Journalism is literature in a hurry."
— Matthew Arnold

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Planned Parenthood®
Affiliates of California

As we approach the new millennium, we at Planned Parenthood are more conscious than ever before that freedom implies the ability to make responsible choices –choices that promote the health and well-being of an individual, a family, a community and our society.

Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California thanks the following state legislators for their 100% responsible choices voting record during the 1999 legislative session:

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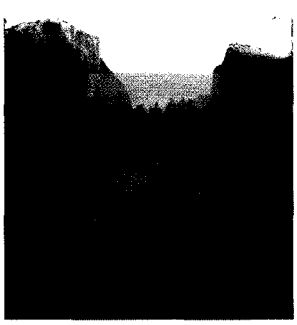
California on the

A new millennium begins. California celebrates its Sesquicentennial. And California Journal turns 30. At this season of milestones, it is worthwhile to reflect on the notion that California remains a place apart, a state of mind as much as a state of the union, and to chart the changes that have occurred in California over the lifetime of this magazine.

By A.G. Block

Editor's note: *To commemorate* California Journal's *30th anniversary, we have prepared two special editions. This November issue reflects on the state's past by profiling the 30 men and women we believe most influenced California government and politics in the 20th century. In January, we probe into California's future with an edition we call "The Latino Century."*



From the beginning, there has been a mystique about California that comes from being a place apart, separated from the rest of America in terms of geography and outlook. A place of myth and distinction reflected in its nickname — "the Golden State." For millions of immigrants, both domestic and foreign, California has more than lived up to that promise — even as the state itself has been transformed in extraordinary but not always constructive ways.

America's California was fashioned in the 19th century, hatched nearly whole and adult on the heels of the Gold Rush, which brought statehood in 1850. But the state blossomed in the years between 1900 and 1999 — an era that arguably could be called the "California century." California lured America with its dreams. It tantalized a continent with sun-baked beaches and movie stars, with vast physical and economic frontiers to be captured, tamed and dominated. Its economy has been and remains the envy of the world. Its trend-setting politics have provided, among other innovations, the initiative and referendum, a full-time

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Population
THEN (1970):
20 million
NOW (1998):
34.6 million
▶ 73% increase

Legislature served by professional staff, property tax revolts, legislative term limits, three-strikes laws, sophisticated campaign techniques, migrating presidential primaries and astroturf lobbying.

But it is the dream of California, explored in depth during *California Journal's* 25th anniversary year in 1995, that remains the state's most pronounced asset on the eve of a new millennium. It is an image that has been defined and redefined throughout its history, an allure illustrated by an otherwise inconsequential event nearly five decades ago.

A parade

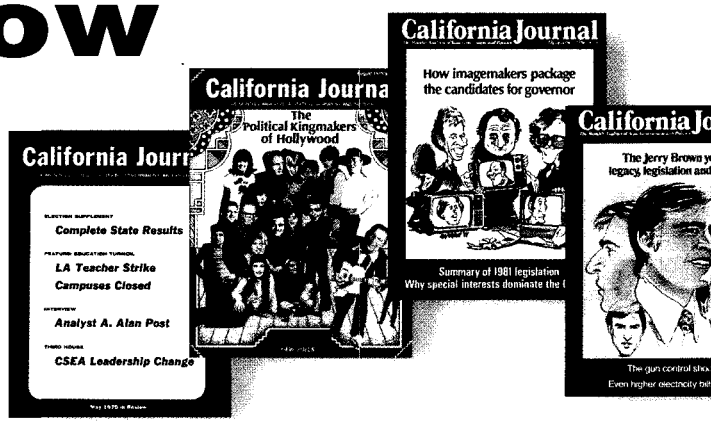
Imagine that it is New Year's morning, 1953. For those who live east of the Sierra and north of the Carolinas, the day summons a dreadful symbolism. The long holiday season, built to a crescendo between Thanksgiving and Christmas, has perished in the revelry of New Year's Eve. For much of the country, winter's bleak panorama has been tolerated during the holidays, a Yuletide prop embellished by lights strung along frozen eaves and wreathes hung in frosted windows. Today, the masquerade is over. As the holidays wither away, people in Davenport and Altoona and Buffalo, and occasionally in Dallas and Memphis and Richmond, brace themselves for three months of privation.

In living rooms throughout the vast frozen nation, people gather on this dreary Thursday morning to assess the damage. They slump over mugs of coffee, while outside, the landscape that yesterday and for a month had seemed festive and comfortable and perfect, now appears pinched and stark and sinister.

The pre-eminent distraction of the day is the new phenomenon of television, with its small black-and-white screen and its novelty of images beyond the familiar. Perhaps the television sits in front of a large picture window framed by a lace of ice. But on the screen, in often shadowy pictures cast across a frozen nation, Americans are confronted by another kind of portrait radiating from the streets of a place called Pasadena. For the first time, a national network — NBC — is broadcasting an event known as the Tournament of Roses Parade, and millions of Americans behold California.

The canvas that flickers onto the screen is that of endless summer, a universe of warmth. A caravan of

Then and now



When *California Journal* first appeared 30 years ago, the cast of characters operating under its microscope was vastly different — with a few notable exceptions.

By A. G. Block

When the first issue of *California Journal* rolled off the press on February 6, 1970, a Californian — Richard Nixon — was president, while a future president — Ronald Reagan — was in his first term as governor. As in 2000, one party controlled both the governorship and the Legislature, although back then, that party was Republican. San Diego's Jack Schrade was president pro tempore of the state Senate, while the Central Valley's Robert Monagan was speaker of the Assembly. The ranks of the 1970 Senate included a future governor (George Deukmejian) and a future mayor who would fall to an assassin's bullet (San Francisco's George Moscone). It also included a future presidential candidate from the American Independent Party (John Schmitz) and the father of the state's highway system (Randy Collier). Among those serving in the Assembly in 1970 were Willie Brown Jr., Ken Cory, March Fong Eu, Leo McCarthy, David Roberti, Pete Schabarum, Henry Waxman, Pete Wilson and Jesse Marvin Unruh. Ironically, two members of the current, term-limited Legislature were serving in 1970 — Assemblymen John Vasconcellos (D-San Jose) and John Burton (D-San Francisco), now both members of the state Senate.

The California congressional delegation included Democrat Alan Cranston and Republican George Murphy in the

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flower-laden floats glides by between rows of stately palms, while movie stars and smiling beauties in bathing suits wave from the back seats of Cadillac convertibles, and a sheriff's posse like the cast from "The Roy Rogers Show" prances by on massive palominos.

Californic, of course, was not unknown to America before 1953. A million servicemen had passed through her ports during World War II, while thousands of others had come to work in her shipyards and airplane factories – and in her fields and orchards. But NBC's first national telecast of the Rose Bowl Parade, coming as it did in the dead of winter, provided Iowans and New Hampshirites and West Virginians with an indelible glimpse of a California that contrasted vividly and immediately with their own snowbound universe.

It is an image that has been reinforced repeatedly through the decades. Chicago-reared novelist Barry Gifford, long a resident of Berkeley, observed in 1984 that while Californians look forward to a winter of windsurfing and sailboats, most other Americans endure "wearing galoshes and parkas and hats with flaps over their ears ... *while they wait at snowswept* streetcorners for buses that never arrive."

A state of change

Climate, of course, is merely a metaphor for California as a place apart. The state also is distinguished by its capacity to absorb change and to be resilient. The recession that battered most of the country during the late 1980s and 1990s was exacerbated in California by the virtual disappearance of a once-flourishing defense industry. Yet, it did not enervate the state. Instead, California rebounded, its prosperity driven — as it has been through the decades — by the strength and initiative brought to it by new arrivals. Those immigrants — especially from Mexico but also from Latin America, Asia, Russia and elsewhere — have created a California that looks vastly different than the state that hosted the first televised Rose Bowl Parade or bore witness to the inaugural issue of *California Journal* in February 1970. It is a 30-year transformation reflected first in a dazzling array of numbers.

Registered Voters

THEN (1970):

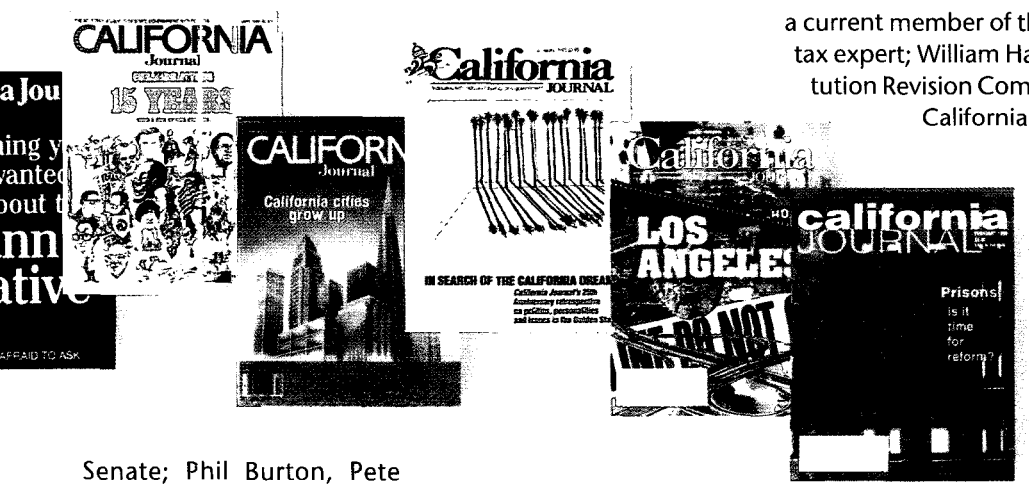
8.7 million

NOW (1998):

15 million

▷ 72% increase

In July 1970, the census revealed a state population of 20,039,000. At



Senate; Phil Burton, Pete McCloskey, Bob Mathias, Barry Goldwater Jr., George Brown Jr., Ed Roybal and John Tunney in the House. Tunney would defeat Murphy for the Senate in November 1970.

Governor Reagan's staff included one aide who still prowls the Capitol — George Steffes, now head of one of Sacramento's most powerful lobbying firms — and another, Edwin Meese III, who went on to become attorney general when Reagan moved to Washington, D.C.

Some notable names also appear on the roster of legislative staff in 1970: Julian Dixon, now a congressman from Los Angeles; Carol Hallett, later an Assembly minority leader; David Swoap, a Cabinet official in the Deukmejian administration; Tony Quinn, a recognized expert on reapportionment; Ward Connerly, a UC regent and author of the anti-affirmative action initiative Proposition 209; Carl D'Agostino, a Democratic campaign strategist; Dave Cox, a current member of the Assembly; David Doerr, a leading tax expert; William Hauck, former chairman of the Constitution Revision Commission and current president of the California State University Board of Trustees; Bill Leonard, a longtime legislator currently serving in the Assembly; Tim Leslie, a current member of the state Senate; and Jan Sharpless, former chairwoman of the Air Resources Board.

Several members of the 1970 press corps are still on duty in 1999: Carl Ingram (UPI), George Skelton (UPI) and Bill Stall (AP), now all with *The Los Angeles Times;* Doug Willis, still with the Associated Press; and Jerry Gillam of *Kiplinger's Newsletter*, previously of *The Los Angeles Times*.

The *Journal* itself was founded in 1970 by four legislative staffers who patterned their new publication after the *National Journal*. Judson Clark now is president of State Net, the nation's largest legislative information service and publisher of *California Journal*. Jerome Evans owns an art gallery in the Tahoe area. Vic Fazio retired in 1998 after a 20-year career in the U.S. House of Representatives during which he became one of the most influential members of Congress. And Thomas Hoeber, who guided the *Journal's* fortunes as publisher from 1970 to 1997, currently serves as national executive director of CORO Foundation – the public-service fellowship program that began in California more than 50 years ago.

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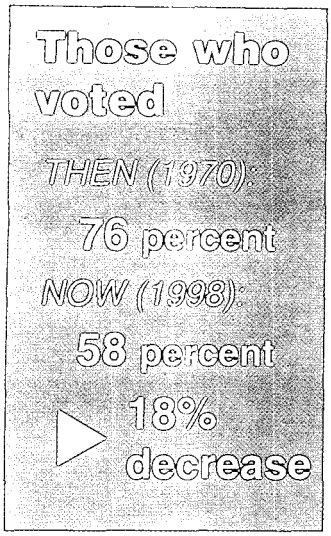
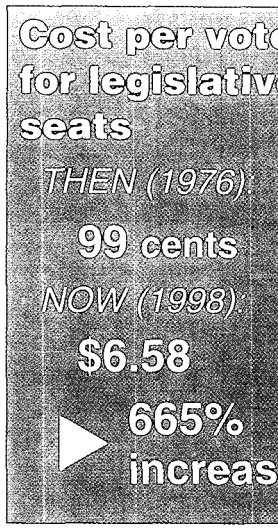


the time, California was 77 percent white, 12 percent Hispanic, 6.9 percent black and 3.4 percent Asian. Public schools welcomed just short of 5 million students for the 1970-71 year. Voting was a more popular sport; there were 8.7 million registered voters, and 6.7 million of them went to the polls in the general election of 1970, or 76 percent of the electorate. Candidates for the Legislature spent a combined $8,070,295 in 1976 (the first year such reports were available) — 99 cents per vote in the 1976 general election. The cost of influencing government, also reported for the first time in 1976, showed that $40 million was spent to lobby the 1975-76 Legislature, according to a report at the time from the recently created Fair Political Practices Commission. Slightly more than 22,000 men and women were incarcerated in state prisons at the end of 1970.

A much different California stands poised on the edge of the new millennium. The state is substantially more crowded, with 34.6 million of us roaming about the landscape — a 73 percent increase over 30 years. Ironically, there are not many more children enrolled in public school — a total of 5.8 million, up only 16 percent from 1970. Officials at the Department of Education explain the disparity by noting that, among other reasons, the tail of the massive, post-World War II "baby boom" entered school in 1970 and that school populations then began to dip, falling to 4.3 million by the mid-1980s.

Meanwhile, the population as a whole has mutated over the lifetime of the *Journal*. The most striking change is reflected in the state's ethnic diversity. The white population has grown only 12.5 percent in 30 years, and its share of the overall population has plunged to 50.3 percent. Hispanics, meanwhile, now make up 31 percent of the population, their numbers having ballooned 643 percent over the decades. Asians, currently 11.5 percent of the population, have seen their numbers rise 539 percent. The black population has increased 69 percent, but its slice of the overall pie has dropped slightly to 6.7 percent.

As the population soared, civic participation eroded and elections became more costly. More than 15 million Californians registered to vote for the 1998 general election — 72 percent more than in 1970 — but only 57.6 percent exercised the franchise. Meanwhile, the cost of campaigning increased exponentially, and politicians received less bang for the buck. In 1998, for instance, Assembly Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa (D-Los Angeles) alone spent as much ($8,043,859) on himself and his Democratic legislative caucus as parties spent for all candidates in 1976. In total, legislative hopefuls forked out $56,606,690 in 1998 — a seven-fold increase over 1976. That amounted to $6.58 per vote — an inflation rate of 665 percent in 22 years. That escalation rate mirrors the rise in the cost of lobbying. According to the Secretary of State's Office, $292,615,513 was spent to influence government in 1997-98 — an inflation rate of 732 percent in 22 years.



And prisons? Some of the state's most staggering statistical changes are to be found behind the bars of its 33 correctional facilities. Today, the California Department of Corrections employs 45,527 people. To put that number in some kind of perspective, more than twice as many people *work* for the prison system in 1999 as were incarcerated by it in 1970. The prison population itself has increased 624 percent, from 22,399 to 162,136.

As imposing as those statistics may seem, they do reveal elements of change — not all of which have been for the good. The state's once dynamic system of public education is rotting from within, its needs overwhelming — both in terms of staffing and facilities. California's per-pupil spending ranks 41st in the nation, and its children score correspondingly low on comparative tests.

Although the economy thunders along, the "opportunity" gap continues to widen, affording those with disposable incomes a smorgasbord of investment options while the vast bulk of Californians survive on stagnant wages. Surrounded by amazing prosperity, those at the bottom of the economic food chain find it more and more difficult to climb out of poverty. They require education from a system that increasingly fails them, and they need the 21st century tools of success – computers, technical training, efficient transportation systems, child and health care – few of which they can afford.

California Political Almanac
1999-2000 edition

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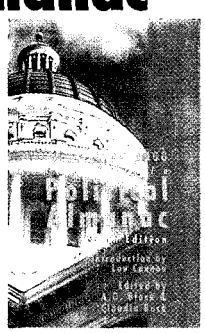

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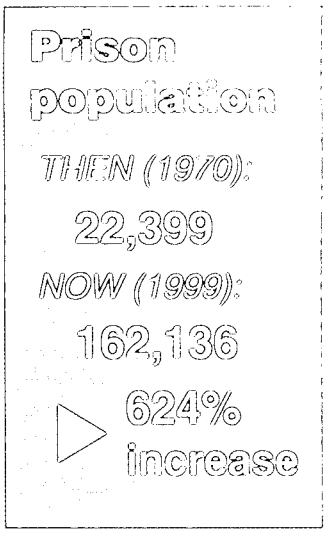
Agriculture, especially in the Central Valley and Inland Empire, continues to shrink before the relentless pace of development as urban areas sprawl to accommodate the state's mushrooming population. This, in turn, places enormous pressure on a crumbling and inadequate infrastructure of highways, sewer and water systems, landfills, law-enforcement agencies, mass transit and schools – to name but a few. The state's once-powerful manufacturing sector — which produced, among other things, automobiles, airplanes, ships and steel – has all but evaporated, replaced by a dot-com world where overnight millionaires cash in on California's new Gold Rush, and where the Internet is the fulcrum for a new kind of e-commerce that threatens more traditional forms of business.

Meanwhile, California's political system has undergone an extensive overhaul during the past 30 years but seems less and less capable of addressing issues vital to the state's health and future. Although more women and ethnic minorities hold positions of influence, politics itself seems more remote, driven by a cadre of pollsters and consultants preoccupied with style at the expense of substance. Candidates, especially for statewide office, exist as slate mailers and television ads, while the cost of campaigning excludes from the chase all but the wealthy or those with an insatiable appetite for prying contributions from well-heeled special interests. As a result, courage has faded from the political equation, replaced by institutional caution that borders on paralysis. Policy that harbors even a smidgen of risk is crafted through the initiative process. Leadership has become a lost art. Vision is the latest poll.

This wagonload of challenges comes hand-in-hand with economic prosperity as California bounds into a new century. Yet the state remains a destination point on the eve of the new millennium, and despite the rapid-fire pace of its transformation, California's ability to reinvent itself seems unshakable. This is due in no small measure to the great strength provided by its ethnic diversity — to be explored in depth in our January issue, "The Latino Century." As a result, a new culture is emerging in California, one that borrows energy and resourcefulness from each of its varied communities. If California is to continue to be California — a place apart — it must forever provide a climate to nurture the diverse forces within, as well as continue to attract the dreamers and risk-takers, the seekers and builders.

This, then, is the legacy — and the challenge — that the 20th century leaves for the 21st.



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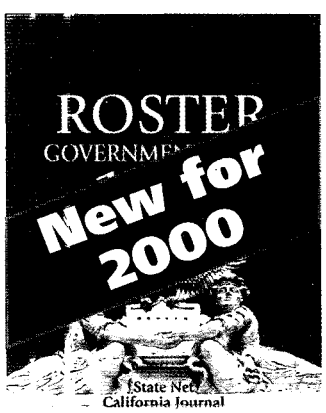

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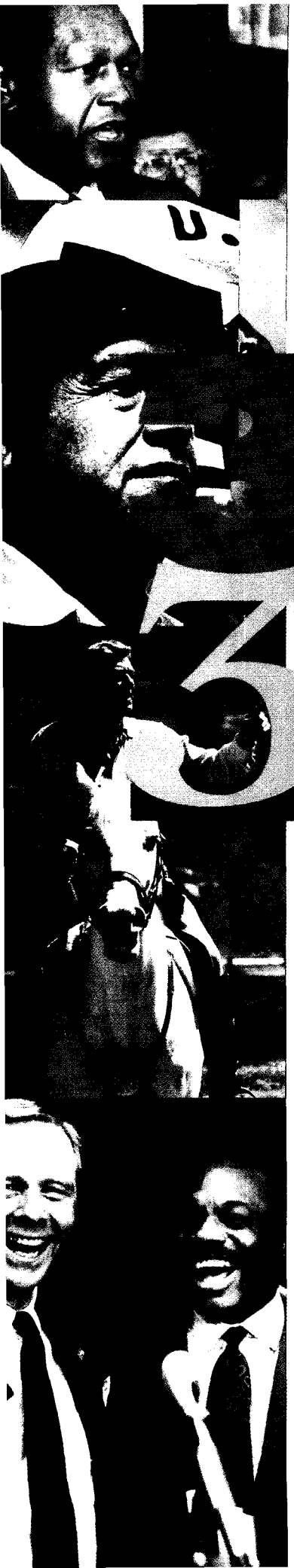

Thirty at thirty

To mark California Journal's 30th anniversary, we've selected the 30 men and women who had the greatest influence on California government and politics in the 20th century. Writing about these figures are some of the most distinguished authors in the state today.

The men and women profiled in this anniversary issue of *California Journal* were chosen after much discussion and debate by *Journal* editors and many interviews with others who long have studied California's political and governmental landscape. We sought to identify those who had the greatest influence — for good or ill — on California government and politics in the 20th century, and the result is a roster of the famous, infamous and obscure — a list destined to generate controversy and dispute. The exercise also produced the inevitable "honorable mentions" (see page 64) for those public figures who also came to mind but did not quite merit a slot in the top 30. We encourage arguments and comments and urge readers to send them along care of *edit@statenet.com*.

Ultimately, the final list is shaped in word and thought by an honorable community of accomplished contributors — journalists, public figures, authors, historians — who consented to write these profiles and, in so doing, performed an invaluable public service for that civic-minded lot, the subscribers of the *California Journal*. To these

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pre-eminent guest writers, *California Journal* editors extend appreciation and gratitude.

The top 30 list includes some obvious choices; among them, six governors (Hiram Johnson, Earl Warren, Pat Brown, Ronald Reagan, Jerry Brown and Pete Wilson), two speakers of the Assembly (Jesse Unruh and Willie Brown Jr.), four big-city mayors (Tom Bradley, Dianne Feinstein, Wilson and Jerry Brown), three United States senators (Johnson, Wilson and Feinstein), and a pair of congressmen (Phil Burton and Ed Roybal). It also includes some not-so-obvious choices:

• Leone Baxter and Clem Whitaker, political consultants who influenced the industry that now dominates California politics.

• Rose Bird, chief justice of the state Supreme Court and focal point of a 1986 campaign that politicized the court system like none other before or since.

• Harry Bridges, whose efforts on behalf of longshoremen helped revitalize a long-dormant labor movement.

• Cesar Chavez, the charismatic leader of a movement that brought international attention to the plight of farm workers.

• Mervin Field, whose public pulse-takings established polling as an essential political tool.

• Howard Jarvis, the father of Proposition 13, whose efforts rearranged the way government — especially local government and school districts — are financed.

* Carey McWilliams, author and editor, whose work defined California for the state and the rest of the nation.

• Harvey Milk, one of the first openly gay politicians who built political coalitions that stretched beyond the boundaries of the gay community.

• Stanley Mosk, whose still-active career in government spans 60 years and who, as associate justice of the state Supreme Court, has written some of the court's most important decisions.

• John Muir, a Scottish immigrant who founded the Sierra Club and whose writings helped save Yosemite Valley and launch an environmental movement.

• William Mulholland, an engineer who laid pipe over the Tehachapi Mountains to help create modern Los Angeles.

• Harrison Otis and Harry Chandler, media moguls who helped shape Los Angeles politics for more than half a century.

• William Parker, longtime Los Angeles police chief who modernized law enforcement practices, curbed corruption and brought international fame to his department.

• A. Alan Post, the first legislative analyst, who embodied the phrase "dedicated public servant" and helped establish the concept of a professional, nonpartisan legislative staff.

• Artie Samish, lobbyist extraordinaire, who ruled the Legislature for two decades from a suite in the Senator Hotel.

• Peter Schabarum, a former legislator and Los Angeles County supervisor whose 1990 initiative — Proposition 140 — imposed term limits on the Legislature.

• Upton Sinclair, the muckraking social activist whose quixotic 1934 campaign for governor advanced social programs and helped revitalize the Democratic Party.

• Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California from 1930 to 1958, who laid the foundation for a world-class university.

Finally, there is one historically significant Californian who does not appear among either the 30 or the "honorable mentions:" Richard Milhous Nixon, native of Whittier. Although Nixon launched his political career as a California congressman, he played mostly upon the national stage, even during his career as a representative and senator. His impact on his home state came mainly as cannon fodder for Pat Brown's 1962 re-election as governor. Even his remarkable political comeback in 1968 was launched from New York, not California.

It is worth noting that only three women – Leone Baxter, Rose Bird and Dianne Feinstein – are among the 30. For most of the past 100 years, men dominated politics and power positions in government. Women did not begin to take office in large numbers until very late in this century. As a result the "honorable mention" list contains more women, but we trust that a similar exercise, a hundred years from now, will include even more who have had significant impact on the 21st century.

— *A.G. Block*

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Rose Bird

An outsider equipped with neither the savvy nor alliances needed to thrive in politics, Bird's bright light flamed out early, but her shadow remains on the state Supreme Court.

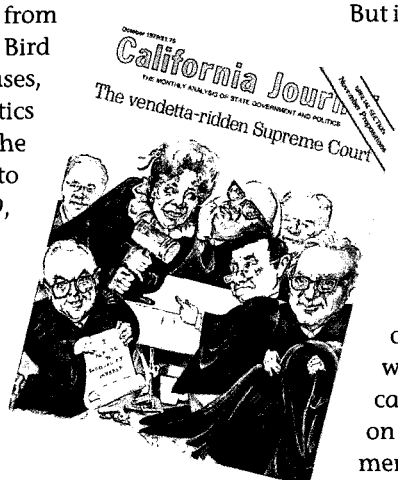
By Claire Cooper

Rose Bird, 1937-
Supreme Court Chief Justice (1978-1986)

When Jerry Brown appointed Rose Bird as California's chief justice in 1977, he meant to shake up a judicial system he viewed as wasteful and complacent. He succeeded in ways he never dreamed of. Nine years later, the voters shook up the California Supreme Court, refusing to confirm Bird and two fellow liberals, Cruz Reynoso and Joseph Grodin. Their removal marked the end of a progressive period that had distinguished the court for 40 years, and it made the death penalty the sacred cow of California politics.

The campaign against the Bird court focused on capital punishment because voters could readily grasp one stark fact. Bird had voted consistently to reverse death judgments — 61 times by Election Day. That made her an easy target for prosecutors, politicians and business groups with a stake in reversing the court's liberal direction. With the intelligence, high principles and commitment for the job, but not the political instincts or connections, Bird was ill-equipped to fight back.

A born outsider, Bird learned her values at her mother's knee. She lived her early years in Tucson near what was then the Papago Indian reservation, seeing discrimination firsthand and learning from her mother that it was wrong. Anne Bird supported the family by cleaning houses, taking in laundry and, later, doing plastics work in the aircraft industry. She moved the family to her home state, New York, to escape Arizona's provincialism in 1949, when her daughter was 12.



Unable to escape poverty, she taught her three children to prize education. Rose Bird won honors and scholarships. She became a defense lawyer and Stanford law instructor and then the first woman deputy public defender in Santa Clara County.

Bird offered help in 1970 when Brown ran for secretary of state and in 1974 when he ran for governor. The prophet of lowered expectations liked being driven around by Bird in her Dodge, and it helped to have a woman in his entourage. She organized San Mateo County for him; he unexpectedly won it. As governor, he made her the first woman Cabinet officer in state history, head of what was then known as the Agriculture and Services Agency. She wrote and lobbied for the state's historic farm labor law and pushed through legislation giving public members a majority of seats on trade boards and commissions.

But even today her name is a slogan for vulnerable liberalism in all sorts of political campaigns.

But it wasn't long before Bird's shortcomings took a toll. She would have nothing to do with press secretaries and press conferences and rarely issued a news release. She seemed combative and inflexible.

"I felt that if you do a good job, they'll cover it," she said recently. She learned too late, she said, that her view was "very naive," that it was necessary to sell her image. Her appointment as chief justice met with opposition. Support from women for the first woman Supreme Court nominee made a critical difference in winning confirmation. Once on the court she helped win judicial appointments for other women and assigned large numbers of women and minorities to leadership positions in the judiciary for the first time. But many

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who lost power were alienated by Bird's changes and her unwillingness to consult them. She wasn't shown the respect that normally goes with being chief justice — in pants suits and hair bows, she didn't look like one, it was said. When her court's rulings were attacked by powerful interest groups, the legal establishment did not rally to defend her.

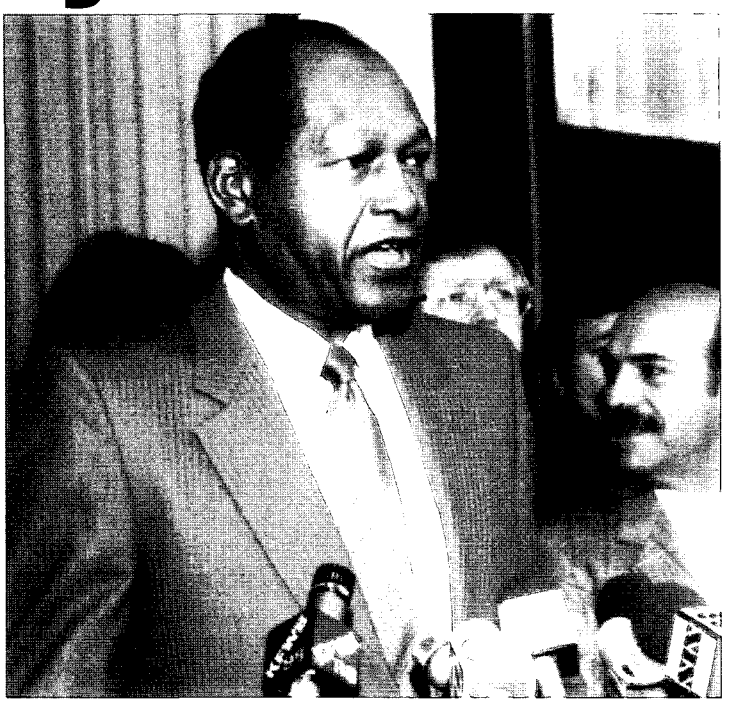
In 1978, with mortgage interest rates rising, the Bird court angered the banking industry by ruling that home buyers had a right to assume sellers' mortgages. In 1979, the court ruled that injured parties could sue their opponents' insurance companies for refusing to settle claims in good faith. The court upheld a few death sentences but never with Bird's help. When the court ordered the 1982 elections to be held in districts drawn by the Legislature's Democratic majority, the Republicans were ready to strike. Four Republican-led recall drives had failed to qualify for the ballot, but Bird faced a confirmation vote by the public at the end of her term in 1986. Refusing to compromise the bench or incur political debts, she turned down help from what allies she had in the judiciary, state bar and Democratic Party. She knew almost from the start, she said, that she would go down but wanted to do it in a way she thought legitimate. She lost by a 2 to 1 margin.

Bird provided the image and occasion for a sudden turnaround of the California Supreme Court that probably would have come anyway, though less abruptly, because of changes in U.S. Supreme Court doctrines and the public mood. But even today her name is a slogan for vulnerable liberalism in all sorts of political campaigns.

Tom Bradley

As L.A.'s first African-American mayor, Bradley bridged the political gap between whites and blacks, creating a new urban management style that sought to make color obsolete.

By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe



Tom Bradley, 1917-1998
Mayor, Los Angeles (1973-1993)

Tom Bradley, the son of Texas sharecroppers and the grandson of slaves, rose to become the first — and, to date, only — African-American mayor of Los Angeles, as well as its longest-serving chief executive. During his tenure, he reshaped not only the city's skyline, but also its political landscape.

Bradley, said author Earl Ofari Hutchinson, "symbolized the emergence of black political power." He gave the urban core's poorer, mostly minority population, which had been largely disenfranchised in civic life, a political voice and opened up the city's work force, particularly its police department, to reflect Los Angeles' diverse population.

But Mayor Bradley also worked effectively with the city's largely Anglo political, civic and business establishment, while he worked to broaden the city's power elite. Dubbed "the political architect of modern Los Angeles," Bradley presided over Los Angeles's metamorphosis from what one longtime ally called "a laid-back, sleepy town" into a world-class city.

Bradley's two-decade stint in the mayor's office defined an era in the city's political history that began and ended with violence. Bradley, motivated by the destructive Watts riots that ripped open the city's raw racial divisions in 1965, made his first run for mayor in 1969 — leading a coalition of African Americans and liberal activists who had helped him become the city's first elected African-American city councilman in 1963. Ahead in pre-election polls for mayor, Bradley lost the runoff to incumbent Sam

Continued on page 54

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Harry Bridges

An Australia-born longshoreman and labor organizer, Bridges was four times a deportation target. He stood as much for government harassment as he did for dock-worker empowerment.

Harry Bridges, 1901-1990
Labor leader

Photo:The Bancroft Lib

By Robert Cherny

For a generation of Americans, Harry Bridges personified militant, left-wing unionism. Born Alfred Renton Bridges in 1901 in Australia, he adopted the name and politics of his favorite uncle, an organizer for the Australian Labor Party. Calling himself "Harry," he went to sea at age 16 and began working on the San Francisco docks in 1922. Dock work was harsh and dangerous, and longshoremen were hired only for the day by a demeaning process. In 1933, the International Longshoremen's Association chartered Local 38-79 in San Francisco, and Bridges emerged as leader of its left-wing caucus. They used *The Waterfront Worker*, a mimeographed newsletter, to advocate militant action and oppose ethnic or political discrimination.

In May 1934, ILA members went on strike from Bellingham to San Diego. Seafaring unions soon struck with their own demands. Chairman of his local's strike committee, Bridges became a leading — and uncompromising — figure in the strike. On July 5, while protecting strikebreakers, San Francisco police killed two men and injured hundreds. Pushed by Bridges and others, the San Francisco Labor Council voted a general strike. After a presidential board arbitrated the maritime strikes, the longshoremen gained their most important demands.

Bridges' unyielding leadership propelled him to the presidency of Local 38-79 and then of the ILA's Pacific Coast District. Within Local 38-79, he and his allies promoted democratic reforms and banned racially segregated work gangs. In 1937, Bridges led the Pacific Coast District into the CIO as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and became its president. *Time* magazine put him on its cover.

The ILWU forged a strong union among West Coast longshoremen and warehouse workers, and, guided by the ILWU, the California CIO pushed left causes — helping, in 1938, to elect Culbert Olson as the first Democratic governor in 40 years. In Hawaii, the ILWU became the largest union and a powerful political force.

As early as May 1934, Bridges' opponents charged that he was a Communist, grounds for deportation. Bridges openly praised the Communist Party but insisted he never joined. (In 1992, evidence from newly opened archives of the Communist International indicated that Bridges was elected to the party's U.S. Central Committee in 1936.) In 1939, a deportation hearing by the Immigration and Naturalization Service produced a decision for Bridges. In 1941, a second INS hearing went against him, but the U.S. Supreme Court reversed it. In 1949, federal authorities again charged him. Convicted and subject to deportation, Bridges appealed, and the Supreme Court overturned the conviction on procedural grounds. In 1955, federal attorneys initiated another proceeding, but the judge ruled for Bridges. His defense committees attracted widespread support from labor, the left, liberals, and even business leaders

"Oh, the FBI is worried, the bosses they are scared,
They can't deport six million men, they know.
And we're not going to let them send Harry over the se
We'll fight for Harry Bridges and build the C. I. O."
— Woody Guthrie/Almanac Singers, "Song for Bridges" (1941)

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who saw Bridges as the victim of federal harassment.

Under Bridges' leadership, the ILWU institutionalized extensive rank-and-file participation in decision-making. In the longshore caucus, local delegates still meet to decide contract issues. All members elect the top leadership, and major policy decisions are often referred to a membership vote. Bridges always insisted that 15 percent of ILWU members be able to recall the president and other top officers, and that his salary not exceed a longshoreman's wages. Bridges' commitment to the rank and file was fully reciprocated — few members shared his lifelong, outspoken admiration for the Soviet Union, but nearly all pledged him their respect, loyalty, and affection.

Photo: San Francisco Public Library

Bridges addresses a group of longshoremen.

In the 1950s, Bridges argued that the ILWU should not fight technology but benefit from it. After extensive intra-union discussion, Bridges led negotiations that produced the Modernization and Mechanization Agreement (1960). In it, the ILWU accepted mechanization of dock work in return for generous retirement benefits and guaranteed pay. The secretary of labor judged that "next only to John L. Lewis, Bridges has done the best job" in addressing automation. Praised for his contributions to the maritime industry, Bridges rejected the label "labor statesman." Joseph Alioto, mayor of San Francisco, appointed Bridges to the San Francisco Port Commission and put ILWU leaders on other city commissions. Bridges retired in 1977 and died in 1990.

Long before his death, Bridges had become a legend: a militant, democratic leftist who delivered the goods for his members; a leader deeply committed to the rank and file; an opponent of racial discrimination; and a repeated victor over federal persecution. His opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and his commitments to social justice and to an empowered and progressive rank and file still inspire union activists today.

Jerry Brown

Not an ordinary shade of Brown: From governor of California to mayor of Oakland, his political path – and his imprint upon it – have been anything but conventional.

By Steve Scott

Edmund "Jerry" Brown Jr., 1938-
Secretary of state (1970-1974);
Governor (1974-1982)

Consider the following scenario: Whiz kid pol becomes governor of California at 36 and runs a credible second-place for president at 38, only to finish out the century as a 60-something mayor of Oakland, one of the state's most economically depressed, crime-addled cities.

In the world of conventional politics, it reads like a cautionary tale about what happens when a promising career peaks too early. But in the unconventional alternate universe of Jerry Brown, anything can happen, and probably will.

Few names in California's political history generate as strong a reaction as that of the former Democratic governor. Expressions like "out of touch," "aloof," "arrogant,"

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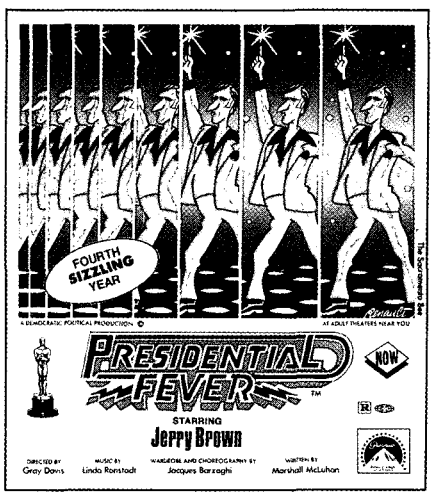
"opportunistic" and "self-absorbed" are often used to describe Brown. And that's just the Democrats talking. Republicans have used Brown as the poster child for loopy liberalism, reciting into meaninglessness the infamous nickname coined (and later recanted) by the late columnist Mike Royko: "Governor Moonbeam."

Much of what is viewed as mainstream political thinking in the 1990s was first given voice by Jerry Brown in the 1970s.

Yet those who would minimize Brown's impact on California over the last quarter of the 20th century overlook a palpable reality: Much of what is viewed as mainstream political thinking in the 1990s was first given voice by Jerry Brown in the 1970s.



Brown's political skills were learned at the feet of one of California's most successful and revered governors — his father, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, Sr. But the younger Brown's entry into the "family business" came via the 1960s and a stint in the Jesuit seminary, which lent a decidedly different tint to this Brown. He rode his father's famous name into office as secretary of state in 1970, and proceeded to transform that administrative backwater into a venue for political reform. At the acme of Watergate-era disillusionment with government, Brown sponsored Proposition 9, the landmark 1974 Political Reform Act, which set forth then-unprecedented strictures for reporting political contributions and expenditures. He used the Proposition 9 campaign to propel himself into the governorship in 1974.

The legacy of Jerry Brown's two terms as the state's chief executive is complex. Brown literally created the notion that a governor's top-level appointments should make at least a passing attempt to reflect the state's diverse population. He was instrumental in passage of the Farm Labor Act and the California Conservation Corps. His advocacy of coastal protection and conservation helped create an environmental sensibility among California voters that survives to this day. His advocacy of mass transit and rail as adjuncts to the state's freeways has become the orthodoxy of modern-day transportation planning. His choice of living in an austere apartment instead of the governor's mansion still resonates with the Everyman constituency. Even seemingly goofy ideas like launching California's own satellite and installing low-flow toilets turned out to be ideas that were simply ahead of their time.

But other aspects of Brown's legacy are not so positive. His inattentiveness to detail and his political wanderlust are legendary. His fiscal parsimony created a massive state surplus that helped contribute to the anti-tax sentiment that fostered Proposition 13. Many of his appointments, while diverse, backfired because of the somewhat offhanded manner in which they appeared to have been made. Appointing Rose Elizabeth Bird as the state Supreme Court's first woman chief justice was historic, but also disastrous – she proved to be such a polarizing figure that she and two other Brown appointees were voted off the court, forever politicizing the Supreme Court confirmation process.

And then there was that wandering eye, always seemingly focused on a different office from the one he held. At first, Californians played along, and Brown won the 1976 presidential primary here. By 1982, though, voters had grown tired of his antics. Not only did they show him the door by denying him a U.S. Senate seat, their choice to replace him as governor was the resolutely unambitious George Deukmejian.

After a self-imposed exile that included a brief stint working with the late Mother Theresa in Calcutta, India, Brown tried on a couple of different hats in a bid to return to the big stage. He fought for and won election as chair of the state Democratic Party in 1989. Two years later, he resigned from the post and reinvented himself as an outsider crusading for campaign finance reform, in which guise he ran again for president in the 1992 primary against Bill Clinton.

By the time his sister, Kathleen Brown, was running for governor in 1994, Brown had moved to Oakland and was hosting a weekly radio talk-show. From a renovated waterfront warehouse that still doubles as a local community center and his personal residence, Brown ran "We the People," a community activist group.

In 1998, he quit the Democratic Party, became an independent, and launched a campaign for mayor of Oakland, winning outright against 10 competitors in the primary.

It is still too early to pass judgment on Brown's municipal ambitions. His advocates say he's serious about trying to turn Oakland (which he calls "a microcosm of the unfinished American Agenda") into an environmentally friendly "Ecopolis." His critics insist it's just another political sideshow for the Buick-driving, lower-your-expectations "Moonbeam" man.

This much, though, is certain: Brown's most vituperative critics — the Dan Lungrens and Pete Wilsons of the world — are all out of office. Jerry Brown, and his ideas, are still here.

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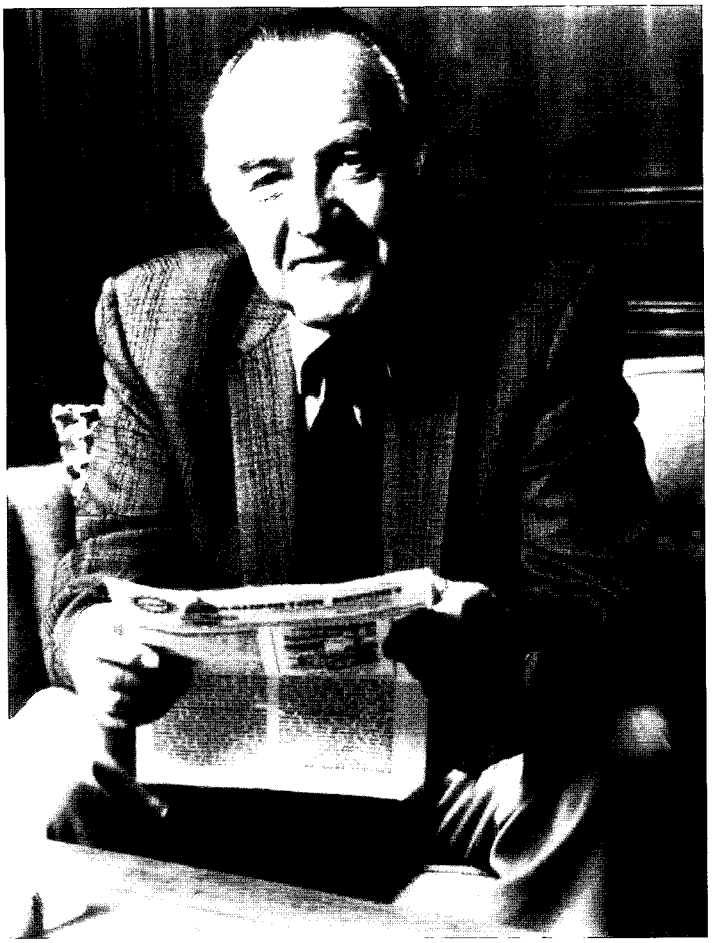
Pat Brown

Pat Brown's legacy as governor is as a builder, a grand visionary who brought water to the people like none other before – or since.

By George Skelton



Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, 1905-1996
Governor (1959-1966), Attorney general (1951-1958)

Pat Brown was the sort who might loudly proclaim to all around him that his true greatness was not being fully appreciated. Then he'd let loose a big guffawing belly laugh at himself, acknowledging the immodesty of this statement and exhibiting a trademark, self-depreciating humor.

But he also would be semi-serious and correct. In his time, Democratic Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown — like President Harry S Truman — was not as appreciated as he would be years later when more people began to benefit from his many accomplishments, such as a massive water project, a vast highway network and a renowned university system.

For four decades now, Californians have been living off Pat Brown's good public works — both the building projects and the political deeds.

Yet, a modern myth has enveloped around Brown's legacy — a myth that the era, not the man, was responsible for his becoming the revered Great Builder. California still was in the post-war boom and tax dollars had been pouring into the treasury for years. People had faith in government.

It couldn't happen today, detractors contend. To the contrary, it would not have happened then without Brown. The best example is the California Water Project, his greatest achievement. This water plan had kicked around for years in various forms, going nowhere. What the plan needed was a governor willing to fight for it, to spend political capital.

Brown thought big and was bold. A third-generation Californian, his ambition was to be a visionary, productive governor for his beloved native state.

Brown thought big and was bold. A third generation Californian, his ambition was to be a visionary, productive governor for his beloved native state, in a league with his idol and duck-hunting buddy, Republican Earl Warren. He saw the water project as necessary for inevitable population growth—and as a permanent monument to himself.

He was not deterred by the political price. And it did cost him. California was bitterly divided over water, with Brown's native North passionately opposed to sharing its rivers with San Joaquin Valley farmers and L.A. pool owners. But he was not frightened by polls. Nor did he fret about being considered too liberal.

"I loved building things," Brown said years afterward. "I wanted to build that goddamned water project. I was absolutely determined."

He faced a handicap unimaginable today: a state Senate apportioned by geography, not population. Northerners dominated the body; L.A. had just one senator. Brown cajoled and charmed, bargained and beguiled to push the water plan through the Democratic Legislature during his first year in office, 1959. Then he stumped the

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Willie Brown Jr.

At the height of his Assembly career, Brown arguably held more power than any California governor.

By James Richardson

Willie Brown Jr., 1934 -, Assemblyman (1964-1995), Speaker, Assembly (1980-1995), Mayor, San Francisco (1996-present)

Not long after the mid-century mark – August 4, 1951, to be precise – a short, wiry young man stepped off a train in San Francisco. He wore a white shirt, khaki pants, and a well-worn pair of shoes. There was nothing, really, to set him apart from the thousands of African-Americans from the South who were flooding the Bay Area that summer. Nothing, that is, except for his grandiose ambitions and a set of skills equally suited to being a gambler, a preacher or a politician.

Since his arrival nearly 50 years ago, Willie Lewis Brown, Jr., has been an enduring presence in California's public life. But to see Brown only as the powerful speaker of the Assembly, or the sharp-tongued mayor of San Francisco, or the best-dressed politician in the United States, is to see only a single frame in a long-running motion picture. It is to miss seeing Brown as peculiarly Californian, as a reflection of both what was best and what was worst about the Golden State in years following World War II. To see Brown in only one role in that movie is to miss seeing the gambler, the preacher and the politician all rolled into one character.

Brown should be seen as representative of most Californians in one major respect: He is an immigrant. Brown was born on March 20, 1934, in his grandmother's house in Mineola, Texas, a small, railroad town in the heart of a collapsing cotton economy. Brown was born not just on the wrong side of the tracks, but on the *colored* side of the tracks. Mineola was sharply segregated, and spasms of white vigilantism were a blunt and ever-present fact of life. Yet Brown had an advantage in this surreal world: He was born into a family of bootleggers and gamblers, and they outsmarted and out-hustled everyone, white or black.

Brown learned the skills of politics at the feet of masters: a pair of uncles ("Son" and "Itsie" Collins) who knew how to work the system before it worked them. Brown learned the gift of speech at the foot of the black preachers at the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church down the street from his grandmother's house.

After graduating from Mineola Colored High School, Brown followed his uncles to San Francisco in 1951, to the Western Addition black ghetto. Brown seemingly did everything at once. He worked in Itsie's illicit casino, became the youth leader of Jones Methodist Church, and attended San Francisco State College, and later, Hastings College of the Law.

Brown always possessed a Hollywood sense of the dramatic, and that made him a richly Californian phenomenon. The key to Brown's use of power lay in his dramatic sense of timing.

Brown always possessed a Hollywood sense of the dramatic, and that made him a richly Californian phenomenon. The key to Brown's use of power — and at his height he was arguably more powerful than any governor — lay not just in the technical details of vote counting and election campaigning, but in his dramatic sense of timing. He seemed to know just the right moment to insert himself

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Phil Burton

If politics were an art, Burton would be remembered as a Picasso – fiery, impassioned, inventing wild new forms to win gains for Democrats, the poor and California's environment.

By John Jacobs

Phillip Burton, 1926-1983
Assemblyman (1957-1964), congressman (1964-1983)

After Governor Pat Brown signed AB 59, Assemblyman Phillip Burton's 1963 landmark bill that restructured and liberalized welfare regulations in California for decades to come and at a price that eventually came to billions of dollars, Burton turned his formidable energy to winning the San Francisco congressional seat he had designed for himself years earlier.

When a staffer asked him why he wanted to go to Congress, Burton quipped, only partly in jest, "I already bankrupted one budget. I need a bigger one to play with."

Burton's pithy comment typified his ultra-liberal, redistributionist political philosophy. And the dominating, saliva-spitting legislator was unapologetic about his politics or his methods. Fortunately for Burton, one of California's abiding political geniuses and power brokers, he served at the height of the Great Society, when skilled legislators could create laws and spend money to benefit the dispossessed.

They created what the local newspapers called the "Burton Machine," like-minded politicians working closely to benefit liberal politics, reward friends and punish enemies.

That was Burton's primary objective — the rich had plenty of champions to look after their interests, he believed — and most of his political machinations and feats of legislative brilliance were devoted to helping the downtrodden. But during eight years in Sacramento and nearly 20 in Washington as one of Congress' most powerful Democrats, Burton's impact on the politics and government of California ranged far beyond helping the poor.

Burton's contributions fall into three general areas: politics, including reapportionment and creating important protégés; income-transfer policy, focused on programs that helped workers and welfare recipients; and the environment, with legislation that preserved millions of acres of wilderness, much of it in California.

Born in Cincinnati in 1926, Burton spent his early youth in Milwaukee, moving to San Francisco while in high school with his family, including younger brother John, who followed him into politics (rising to become the current president pro tempore of the California Senate). After college at the University of Southern California and night law school, Burton became active with the Young Democrats and the California Democratic Council. Just 30 when elected to the Assembly in 1956, he brought John into his circle, along with John's close friends, a young black lawyer named Willie Brown Jr. and John's basketball buddy, George Moscone. They created what the local newspapers called the "Burton Machine," like-minded politicians working closely to benefit liberal politics, reward friends and punish enemies. Later protégés included Los Angeles powerhouses Henry Waxman and Howard Berman and U.S. Representative George Miller III.

When Jack Shelley was elected San Francisco mayor, Burton moved quickly to take his House seat in 1964, remaining there until his death at 56 in 1983. He rose to chair the Democratic Study Group and reinvigorated the House Democratic Caucus as its chairman. But in 1976, in the toughest fight of his life, Texan Jim Wright defeated Burton by one vote to become majority leader. Had he won and lived, Burton

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might have become California's first and only House speaker.

Burton is best known in California for reapportionment, a process he dominated for 20 years. His most accomplished – or egregious – remap came in 1981. He took a congressional delegation of 22 Democrats and 21 Republicans, added two seats and drew new lines for 28 Democrats and 17 Republicans, handing House Speaker Tip O'Neill one-quarter of all the new seats the Democrats would win in 1982.

In domestic policy, Burton's legislation raised the minimum wage and extended it to millions of uncovered workers. He passed an important Black Lung bill, despite having no coal miners in his district. Controlling dozens of House Democratic votes – he once bragged he could round up "110 votes to have dog shit declared the national food" — he traded higher subsidies for cotton to get food stamps for striking farmworkers.

Taking over an obscure Interior subcommittee after his leadership loss, Burton protected more federal wilderness land than all congresses before him combined. That included Mineral King in the Sierras, the Santa Monica Mountains and Channel Islands and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. After his death and in his honor, Congress passed his California Wilderness Act, which preserved nearly another 3 percent of the state's entire land mass.

Phillip Burton at work

"If politics is an art," one eulogist said of him, "no artist painted with a more deft touch ... Phillip Burton lived with an intensity and a fury of the sun itself. He was consumed by the fires of his own brilliance."

Harry Chandler and Harrison Gray Otis

Working in tandem, Harry Chandler and his father-in-law, Harrison Gray Otis, nurtured a union-busting, water-rustling, fortune-making enterprise, never shying from wielding their mighty creation, *The Los Angeles Times*, as a tool to shape L.A.

By Max Vanzi

Harrison Gray Otis (1837-1
Publisher, Los Angeles Tir
(1882-1917)

Photos: The Bancroft Library

Harry Chandler (1864-1944)
Publisher, Los Angeles Times, 1917-1944

Unlike his hot-tempered, union-busting father-in-law who preceded him as publisher of the early *Los Angeles Times*, Harry Chandler didn't pick fights in public, or even write for the paper. He set out to amass an empire. He succeeded beyond imagining.

The dynasty that brought to prominence California's mightiest newspaper wasn't content to practice mere journalism. By the time the Chandler family surrendered its century of editorial control in the early 1990s, much of L.A.'s landscape lay as Harry Chandler shaped it. The origins of freeways, aerospace, Hollywood and the march of suburbia, all carry the Chandler imprint, all propelled by money, guile, political king-making and, when it came to water, that notorious fleecing of the Owens Valley.

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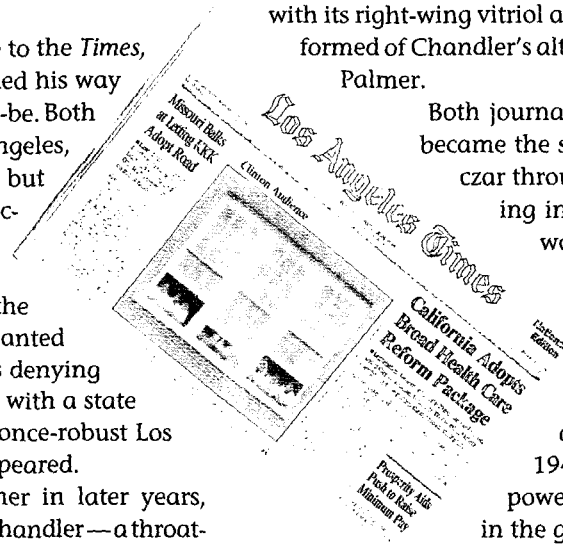
Two other Chandlers would follow Harry at the head of the *Times*, his son Norman and later his grandson, Otis. But they weren't the dynasty's empire builders. That nameplate belongs at the beginning, to Harry Chandler and his combative father-in-law, Harrison Gray Otis.

General Otis came to California out of the Civil War, bought *Times* shares, did battle with a partner and took sole control in 1882. Along with boosterism for his town, revealed in the pages of his prospering paper, Otis nurtured a visceral hatred of organized labor. With rifles and shotguns kept handy on the premises, he editorially blasted unions as "a monstrous tyranny," and bullied city politicians into banning union picketing.

Along with boosterism for his town, revealed in the pages of his prospering paper, Otis nurtured a visceral hatred of organized labor.

With labor tensions running high in October 1910, powerful explosions at the *Times* downtown plant gutted the building and killed 21 employees. "Oh, you anarchic scum," wrote Otis.

By then Harry Chandler had come to the *Times*, married the boss's daughter, and worked his way up to general manager and publisher-to-be. Both men wanted the same things for Los Angeles, fast growth and unfettered business, but they differed in method, as their respective reactions to the *Times* bombing illustrated. With the union-affiliated perpetrators in custody, Otis wanted "the sons of bitches to hang." Chandler wanted confessions in return for jail time, thus denying labor the martyrdom that would come with a state execution. Chandler prevailed, and a once-robust Los Angeles labor movement all but disappeared.


Los Angeles Times
Missouri Bolts at Letting KKK Adopt Road
Union Ambush
California Adopts Broad Health Care Reform Package
Prosperity Aids Push to Raise Minimum Pay

As general manager and publisher in later years, frugal, soft-featured, moralizing Harry Chandler — a throat-cutter in a business deal — by all accounts became the richest man in Southern California if not the West. His wealth was calculated in the hundreds of millions. By the 1930s he owned more than 2 million acres of city, suburban and agricultural lands, some spilling into Mexico.

He advertised Southern California across America, attracting selected newcomers to fill the housing tracts he created. He set up land syndicates, dummy corporations and trusts to heap up more investment capital for incipient airplane, rubber, oil and tourist industries.

His classic deal remains the watering of the San Fernando Valley, by which Chandler and a syndicate of business pals realized a profit of $100 million as new homes and towns sprang up across the once arid city outskirts. They did it by buying cheap, and keeping secret the deal cooking at the time in 1904 to import water from the Owens River Valley in the eastern Sierra. Landowners, snookered out of their water rights, watched their verdant valley become a desert.

Just as ruthlessly, Chandler co-opted the political arena, using mainly surrogates on the *Times* staff as instruments of his will.

The Herbert Hoover White House publicly acknowledged its gratitude to Times Washington correspondent Robert B. Armstrong, who pursued, in tandem, Harry Chandler's interests and those of the president. At City Hall, meanwhile — they still relate this one in the Times city room —reporter Carlton Williams would stride into City Council chambers giving signals, thumbs up or thumbs down, on how council members should vote. Conservative members routinely complied.

In all assessments of the "bad paper" era at the *Times* with its right-wing vitriol and slanted news, the most fully formed of Chandler's alter egos was political editor Kyle Palmer.

Both journalist and political fixer, Palmer became the state's pre-eminent Republican czar through most of three decades ending in the late 1950s. To his handiwork is ascribed, in large measure, the rise of Earl Warren and the fall of Goodwin Knight as California governors.

Harry Chandler relinquished control of the *Times* in 1941, but his brand of political power would live on for a time, firmly in the grip of Palmer.

Palmer quickly spotted the possibilities of the young Richard Nixon, coaching, some say inventing, the candidate who, starting in 1946, would win House and Senate seats, destroying with red-baiting smear tactics opponents Jerry Voorhis and Helen Gahagan Douglas.

Finally, in 1960, the *Times* holstered its high-powered guns for more noble pursuits. By then, following Harry and after him the more moderate Norman Chandler, the way was cleared for Otis Chandler to become publisher. Athlete, surfer, car fancier – a man for changing times – fair-minded Otis Chandler changed the *Los Angeles Times*. Palmer retired; Nixon got tough coverage and felt betrayed. Given vast new reporting resources, the paper joined the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* as among the best in the country.

Today, though, none of Harry Chandler's descendants holds sway over the content of paper, either for good or for ill. Corporate interests have taken over, and no return to the past seems likely. As a senior editor, Noel Greenwood, would tell worried colleagues as the Chandler century at the *Times* ended, "Otis has gone surfin' and he ain't coming back."

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Photo: Rich Pedroncelli

Cesar Chavez, 1927-1993
Founder, United Farm Workers

Cesar Chavez

His eyes opened by the sudden poverty of his youth, Chavez, inspired by the beliefs of Gandhi, lived a life of sacrifice while carrying a banner for California's working poor.

By Gregory Rodriguez

Cesar Chavez rose to prominence in the 1960s, but he cannot properly be called a man of his time. His campaign to organize and improve the working conditions of farm workers may have dovetailed with the broader movement for civil rights in America, but his approach to social issues was probably more medieval than modern. Rejecting the constricting ideologies and ethnic nationalism of the era, Chavez preached a universal message of human dignity and morality, and resorted to age-old, faith-based strategies to combat contemporary injustice.

Born in Arizona in 1927 to an entrepreneurial, land-owning family, Chavez first experienced the severe hardship of migrant farm work when his family lost its 160-acre farm and several businesses when he was 11 years old. After attending more than 30 schools, Chavez dropped out in the eighth grade to help his family earn a living. In later years, the labor leader would look back fondly at the time his family owned land and contrast it with the bitter poverty of their years as itinerant laborers. One winter, the Chavez family was forced to live in a tent in Oxnard, California. When their parents could not make ends meet, Cesar and his brother would collect and sell the tinfoil from cigarette packages left along the highway.

The combination of his family's painful loss of stability and the indignities of farm labor inspired him to fight for justice. At age 19, he joined his first union, the National Agricultural Workers' Union, which, like its predecessors, would ultimately fail in its struggle to strengthen laborers' rights.

In a 1967 speech to United Auto Worker President Walter Reuther and other labor leaders, Chavez explained why past organizers had failed to successfully unionize farm workers. He placed the blame on the long-standing practice of romanticizing and patronizing poor people and ethnic minorities. Chavez believed that an advocate could not help anybody whom he pitied or in whom he had no faith. He also said he learned in a biography of Mohandas Gandhi that "one should never ask people to do things he couldn't do himself."

In that spirit, Chavez insisted on living a life of sacrifice when representing farmworkers, who were undoubtedly the most powerless, worst-treated members of the California work force. He believed that one had to live in poverty to understand the poor.

For 10 years prior to working with farm laborers,

Chavez believed that an advocate could not help anybody whom he pitied or in whom he had no faith.

Chavez worked as an organizer for Saul Alinsky's Community Service Organization (CSO) in San Jose. Alinsky's pragmatic grass-roots organizing philosophy and Gandhi's ideal of nonviolent protest were formidable influences on

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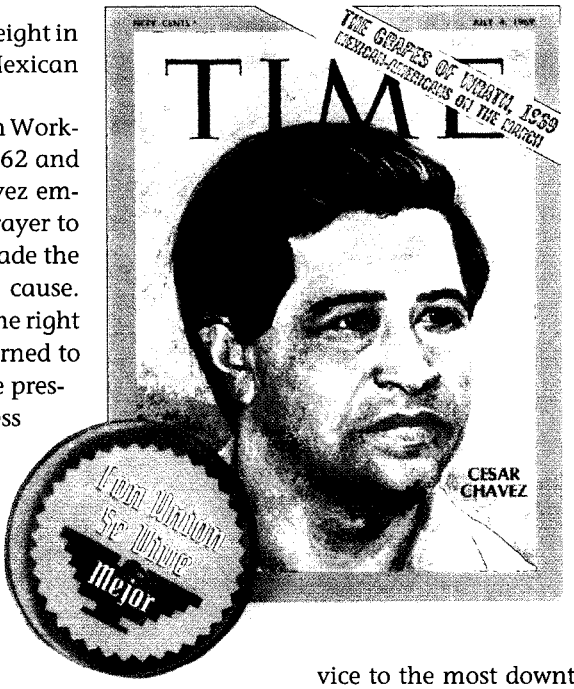
Chavez. But none carried greater weight in shaping his world view than his Mexican Catholic faith.

As the leader of the United Farm Workers Union, which he founded in 1962 and ran until his death in 1993, Chavez employed fasting, processions, and prayer to demonstrate his faith and to persuade the public of the righteousness of his cause. Once he established the UFW and the right of migrants to bargain, he then turned to the good will of the nation to place pressure on the growers through countless boycotts. His piety and his sacrifices made him the embodiment of the farmworker movement. Personal endorsements by Robert F. Kennedy and a host of other high-profile supporters helped transform him into a popular political – as well as spiritual – icon.



Although a proud union man, Chavez did advocate goals that were not attainable through collective bargaining. His mystical, anti-materialist beliefs led him to call on people to lead lives of self-abnegation and humility. "It is my deepest belief that only by giving of our lives do we find life," he wrote during his 25-day fast in 1968.

Chavez was never able to make an effective transition from inspirational leader to administrator, and his union suffered as a consequence. Despite the early pay increases and benefits the union gained for thousands of farmworkers, the UFW was in decline by the time of its founder's death and continues to struggle today. Cesar Chavez' legacy to California is not only political but also moral and spiritual. He gave his life in service to the most downtrodden of California's workers. In death, he serves as an inspiration and an example of what it means to be a good man fighting the good fight, no matter the cost.

Dianne Feinstein

As California's senior U.S. Senator, Feinstein's stature is solid and bold; her legacy one of dignified leadership and statesmanship.

By Jerry Roberts

At a pivotal moment in California's 1990 campaign for governor, Dianne Feinstein stood at the podium of the Democratic state convention in Sacramento and threw down the gauntlet to delegates on the floor.

"Yes, I support the death penalty," she said, setting off a loud and immediate chorus of boos. "It is an issue that cannot be fudged or hedged."

The incident, which later became the basis for a highly effective TV ad, was in many ways a defining political moment in the career of Feinstein, now California's senior U.S. Senator. Speaking to the roomful of liberal activists who dominated that convention, and who backed the anti-

Dianne Feinstein, 1933-
Supervisor, San Francisco (1969-1978)
Mayor, San Francisco (1978-1988)
U.S. senator (1992-present)

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death penalty stand of her soon-to-be vanquished male opponent in the primary, Feinstein's performance that day was a template for her four-decade career in politics: Overcoming the odds and opposition from party insiders, she demonstrated independence and toughness, appealing to a far larger audience outside the convention hall, an electorate with views closer to her own.

"Develop staying power," Feinstein once counseled younger women who sought to enter the world of politics and government. The advice was fundamental to her own, four-decade political odyssey.

"Develop staying power," Feinstein once counseled younger women who sought to enter the world of politics and government. The advice was fundamental to her own, four-decade political odyssey, which has been shaped by a steadfast ability to overcome political setbacks and recurrent defeats, and by a driving ambition to persevere, prove herself and wield power in a professional field long dominated by men.

In California, the 66-year-old Feinstein has influenced politics and governance in three key ways:

• **Gender:** The most visible symbol of what has been called "the decade of the woman" in politics, Feinstein has opened the door for other women, from her first political job — an appointment to the state prison term appeals board by Governor Pat Brown in 1962 — to her series of history-making elections. Unlike her more liberal California colleague, Senator Barbara Boxer, Feinstein has never been an ideological or movement feminist, and, as a bottom-line mayor, sometimes clashed with feminists on issues such as pay equity. In fact, in the 1990 governor's race, Boxer supported John Van de Kamp, Feinstein's chief opponent, calling him "the best feminist in the race."

Feinstein leads the pack

In the 1990 campaign speech, Feinstein enunciated her views on women in politics, summing up the influence she has had: "The future of women's rights to a great extent rests with women. Today, we are the majority of votes in most elections. But our ability to control and direct a single agenda remains questionable. But there is one thing I do believe: Women do open doors for other women. One woman's successful first achievement in any area opens the door forever for all those other women who will follow."

• **Pragmatism:** As mayor of San Francisco, Feinstein constantly said she would "govern from the center" and the political style she demonstrated in statewide races in 1990, 1992 and 1994 provides a blueprint for how moderate Democrats, from Bill Clinton to Gray Davis, recaptured the state: pro-choice and pro-death penalty, with an expansive view of government's role in regulating guns, education and environmental policy and a commitment to major funding for cops and law enforcement.

• **Diversity:** A scarred veteran of in-your-face San Francisco politics — a seething cauldron of identity politics and cultural, sexual and economic diversity — Feinstein became a consummate consensus builder and provided a model for other politicians of how to prevail and adapt to a New California, shaped by immigration and a majority of minorities.

Beginning in 1969, when Feinstein shocked San Francisco's political establishment by coming from nowhere to finish first and become the first woman elected president of the city's Board of Supervisors, she accomplished a series of historic achievements: the city's first woman mayor, the first woman to win a major party nomination for governor, the first woman elected U.S. senator from California.

Victory rarely came easy. After two failed bids for mayor in the rough and raw world of San Francisco street politics, and the recent death of her husband from cancer, Supervisor Feinstein was ready to leave the arena on the morning of November 27, 1978. That day, she told reporters in the City Hall press room she would not run for mayor again and hinted she was preparing to get out of politics altogether.

An hour later, Supervisor Dan White shot and killed Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk in a murderous rage over losing his job on the board. Feinstein, who had served as a mentor to White, saw him burst into Milk's office and, a few minutes later, found the body of the slain gay leader.

As president of the board, she announced the assassinations to the world and immediately took over as mayor. Leading her city through a dark period of horror, terrorism and violence, she was elected on her own in 1979 and overwhelmingly re-elected in 1983, but only after a bizarre campaign to recall her from office by an anti-gun-control urban commune known as the White Panthers.

In 1984, she was on the short list of vice presidential candidates interviewed by presidential hopeful Walter Mondale. Ironically, one of the reasons she was not chosen was concern about the investments of her husband, financier Richard Blum. Mondale instead picked New York

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Representative Geraldine Ferraro, whose campaign would be haunted by questions about her husband's real estate investments.

Feinstein left office in 1988 and, a year later, jumped into the 1990 race for governor when incumbent George Deukmejian announced he would not seek re-election. That wild race was compared by Feinstein campaign spokeswoman and, later, White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers to an "Indiana Jones movie." Feinstein pulled an upset primary victory over attorney general John Van de Kamp and lost narrowly in the general to then-U.S. Senator Pete Wilson.

But that first statewide race strengthened her and, by 1992, she trounced appointed U.S. Senator John Seymour, also helping to elect Barbara Boxer to the Senate. In 1994, she overcame slashing attacks by millionaire Michael Huffington and, unlike many Democrats, held onto her seat in the Republican takeover of Congress.

In the Senate, she has been characterized by the Almanac of American Politics as a "workhorse," who delivers for California's economic interests. She also has underscored her independence by breaking with President Bill Clinton on the NAFTA trade agreement, the administration's health care plan and elements of the 1993 budget agreement. Unlike Boxer, she harshly condemned Clinton's lies in the Monica Lewinsky scandal.

Her major legislative achievements include the assault weapons ban in the 1994 crime bill, the California Desert Protection Act and other advancements in the areas of law enforcement, immigration and foreign policy.

Heading into the 2000 campaigns, Feinstein is viewed as a prohibitive front-runner for re-election to the Senate and has been prominently mentioned as a possible vice-presidential candidate.

Mervin Field

Mervin Field, 1921-
Founder, the Field Poll

As California's premier pollster, Field has given credence to the notion that, as California goes, so goes the nation.

By Gerald Lubenow

Mervin Field's introduction to San Francisco could hardly have been less auspicious. The man who would become a political icon in California and one of the nation's most respected pollsters arrived the day after Harry Truman shocked Thomas Dewey and embarrassed every pollster in America, including Field and his fledgling California Poll, then located in Los Angeles. Anticipating a Dewey landslide, polling firms had quit the field three weeks before the election and missed Truman's late surge. Field, coming north to open a branch of his L.A. firm, had a more intriguing tale to tell.

He had done a late poll that showed Truman and Dewey dead even. Convinced that he must have made an error, Field combed the data and found enough marginal responses to give Dewey a small lead. Instead of trying to explain away his manipulations, Field told his audiences exactly what he had done. His candor, which would become a Field hallmark over the years, won them over. Not long after, Field relocated his polling firm to his beloved San Francisco.

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Howard Jarvis

This mad-as-hell crusader saved homeowners bundles in property taxes, in the process creating new funding gaps and protocols throughout California.

By David R. Doerr

Howard Jarvis, 1902-1986
Anti-tax crusader

A folk hero to many, a curmudgeon to others, Howard Jarvis was the prime mover in a mid-1970s tax rebellion that saved California property taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars over the past 20 years. He did the heavy lifting in qualifying and passing Proposition 13, the 1978 initiative measure that cut property taxes by more than 50 percent.

But the results of Jarvis' efforts also forced local governments and school districts — traditionally supported by property taxes — to go hat in hand to Sacramento to augment funds lost in the tax slash. Thus, Jarvis was responsible for an enormous shift of power from local cities, counties and school districts to a Sacramento political establishment that Jarvis himself despised.

In essence, Proposition 13 capped the *ad valorem* property tax at 1 percent of value, plus a rate for voter-approved indebtedness. The result for the average homeowner who continues to live in the same home is a property tax bill that changes very little from year to year. Proposition 13 also made it harder for the Legislature to raise taxes, instituting a two-thirds vote requirement in the Senate and Assembly for any increase.

In terms of politics, Proposition 13 was a "watershed event" with national implications, according to "Tax Revolt," a 1982 book on the subject by David Sears and Jack Citrin. They argue that Jarvis' effort reversed domestic social policies that had been in vogue since Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, culminating in 1980 with the election of yet another Californian — Ronald Reagan — to the White House.

Howard Jarvis was born in Magna, Utah, in 1902. After graduating with a law degree from the University of Utah, he owned and operated a string of weekly newspapers in that state. He also was active in Republican politics. At the 1932 Republican National Convention, he happened to room with a Californian named Earl Warren. Not long after, Jarvis decided to come to Southern California and engage in various manufacturing businesses.

One night in 1962, after his retirement, Jarvis attended a meeting in a neighbor's home on Los Feliz Boulevard in Los Angeles. He heard a number of homeowners express alarm about fast-rising property taxes, principally caused by big jumps in assessments. He decided to get involved and, by 1970, he was identified by the *Los Angeles Times* as the chief spokesman of disgruntled property owners.

Jarvis was never elected to public office, although he achieved a level of celebrity that was the envy of contemporary elected officials.

That same year, he also ran as the Republican nominee for the state Board of Equalization, losing to Richard Nevins. Jarvis said he spent little money in his quest for office and primarily spent his time campaigning for the re-election of Governor Reagan.

After three unsuccessful attempts to qualify property tax initiatives, Jarvis, with the help of Paul Gann (a Sacramento-based anti-tax crusader) and others, obtained sufficient signatures on petitions to place what became Proposition 13 (Article XIIIA of the state Constitution) on

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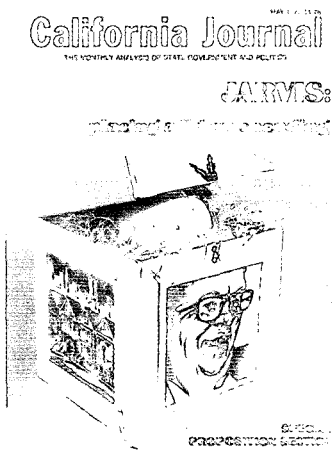
the June 1978 ballot. Most observers thought Proposition 13 would be defeated, particularly after the Legislature placed an alternative on the ballot (Proposition 8).

Instead, it was a landslide winner, receiving support from 65 percent of the voters. The election sent shock waves around the country. *Time* magazine put Jarvis on its cover. In retrospect, Jarvis' initiative fundamentally changed the political landscape in California. After the election, then-Governor Jerry Brown, who had opposed Proposition 13, did such a breathtaking U-turn on taxes that he acquired the nickname "Jerry Jarvis." And, for more than two decades, many legislators have shied away from even tinkering with the initiative because of its continuing popularity with rank-and-file voters regardless of political affiliation. Indeed, veteran Associated Press political correspondent Doug Willis has described Proposition 13 as "the third rail of California politics (touch it and die)." Recent polls show it still commands a large reservoir of support. A 1998 *Los Angeles Times* poll found 66 percent approval with only 20 percent disapproval. Jarvis himself helped pass several other tax-cutting initiatives, but his star began to fade with the defeat of Proposition 9 (Jarvis II) in 1980.



Known for his bombastic, crusty personality, Jarvis was never elected to public office, although he achieved a level of celebrity that was the envy of contemporary elected officials. His face was so instantly recognizable that he even appeared in films — playing himself in cameo where no identification was necessary. Even years after his death in 1986, and 21 years after Proposition 13 passed, he is a more memorable figure in California history than many of the state's past officeholders, including many governors, U.S. senators and state legislative leaders. And it is all because this retired "I'm-mad-as-hell" businessman decided the state's property tax system was unfair – and voters believed that politicians in Sacramento didn't have the guts to make the reforms themselves.

Hiram Johnson

In the right place at the right time, Johnson rose from lawyer to reformer, becoming the Progressive instrument of change at a time when it was desperately needed in California.

By Kevin Starr

California has had 37 governors since 1850. Rankings of these governors invariably put Hiram Warren Johnson near or at the top of the list. Johnson served as governor from 1911 to 1918, when he left for the United States Senate, where he served until his death.

Why is this dyspeptic, choleric, spottily educated, profoundly defensive and sometimes paranoid governor considered so great, especially when he stands in such contrast to the equally eminent but thoroughly likeable Edmund G. "Pat" Brown? Johnson, after all, was viciously anti-Japanese-American, and by the 1930s a bitter and entrenched isolationist capable of casting the only vote in the United States Senate against American entry into World War II.

Hiram Johnson, 1866-1945
Governor (1911-1918)

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Hiram Johnson vowed to kick Southern Pacific Railroad out of politics in California.

How could such a figure, so limited in his sympathies, be consistently ranked as perhaps the best governor California has ever had?

The answer is simple. As Progressive-Republican governor of California, Hiram Johnson spearheaded and energized the reform of state government. So significant and all-encompassing was that reform, it constituted a virtual re-foundation of the state of California. From this perspective, Hiram Johnson was not only an effective governor, he must be considered one of the Founders of the Commonwealth.

Hiram Johnson was born in Sacramento, the son of state Senator and, later, Congressman, Grover Johnson, who never missed a chance either to defend the Southern Pacific Railroad or to berate his two sons — Albert and Hiram. Albert got drunk. Hiram got even. Forced to leave the University of California at Berkeley in his junior year when his future wife became pregnant, Hiram studied for the bar while working as a law clerk.

Not only was Grover Johnson in the pocket of the SP, the entire state was controlled by the railroad. Elected legislators received free passes in hotel rooms, campaign contributions and special rates for their business friends. In San Francisco, labor boss Christopher Buckley, followed by boss Abraham Ruef, ran things on behalf of the railroad. SP land agent and lobbyist Walter Parker ran the show in Southern California.

Reform, however, was in the air. As early as 1899, David Starr Jordan, founding president of Stanford University, was writing in *The Atlantic Monthly* that the entire state of California – its political practices, its neglect of education, its destruction of the environment, the unambitious level of its institutional life – was in need of reform. The political aspect of such reform was very much on the minds of 15 young attorneys and journalists, nearly all of them Republican, who on the evening of May 21, 1907, gathered for dinner at Levy's Café in downtown Los Angeles. On their minds as well was nothing less than the Progressive political reform of the entire state under the banner of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. For this to happen, they needed to capture the governorship. To capture the governorship, they needed a reform candidate.

The Progressive Reformers turned to Hiram Johnson, then in his mid-30s and practicing law in San Francisco. In the course of that city's graft trials, the special prosecutor, Francis Haney, was shot in court. Johnson stepped in and, dramatically, had won convictions against Ruef and Mayor Eugene Schmitz. Here, then, was the man of the hour, as far as the Lincoln-Roosevelt League was concerned.

It took some persuasion for the league, however, to convince Johnson to run for the governorship. For one thing, he was doing well financially, and his wife liked San Francisco. By the fall of 1910, however, Johnson was touring California in an open-topped crimson Locomobile, promising that when he was elected he would "kick the Southern Pacific out of politics in California." Johnson won the election, defeating the Democratic nominee Theodore Bell, a Napa attorney and former congressman who was, ironically, himself a Progressive reformer running an equally vociferous anti-SP campaign.

Hiram Johnson's first term was a heady time, a Camelot for the progressive-minded of California, who controlled the Legislature as well as the governorship. In the next few years, a virtually new state government was put in place, under which California has continued to operate. Merely to list the legislation of this era is to suggest its range of depth and accomplishment: the secret ballot; popular election of U.S. senators; nonpartisan election of judges; initiative, referendum and recall; cross-filing; establishment of a quasi-judicial Public Utilities Commission with regulatory powers over railroads, gas, electric, telephones, telegraph, water-distribution systems, pipelines and other common carriers; major reforms in flood control, harbor administration, standardization of weights and measures, and water law; pensions for teachers, free textbooks for schoolchildren, establishment of a comprehensive curriculum, curtailment of child labor, an eight-hour work day at minimum wage for female industrial workers; the pioneering Workmen's Compensation, Insurance and Safety Act of 1913, establishing the Industrial Accident Commission together with an all-important Commission on Immigration and Housing. And this is but a partial list. In measure after measure, the Legislature and governor refounded public life in California in an avalanche of reform legislation.

Hiram Johnson's first term was a heady time, a Camelot for the progressives of California, who controlled the Legislature as well as the governorship.

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Did Hiram Johnson cause all this to happen, or did he merely ride the crest of a wave? Certainly, as has been suggested, reform had been in the air for a decade or longer. Yet it takes both a Legislature and a governor (together with the judiciary) to run a state; and so Johnson, as the chief executive of California, must be given significant credit for the breathtaking reforms of the 1910s, especially those of his first term.

Today, nearly 90 years later, Hiram Johnson — because of the era that created him and the era which he in turn helped create — must be regarded as the greatest, and certainly the luckiest, first-term governor in the history of California. The rest of Johnson's life was not so successful. Like so many Progressives, he became increasingly estranged in the post-World War I era. By the time of his death, Johnson was a somewhat agitated figure in a high-celluloid collar, saying "no, no, no" to most of the political ideas around him. And yet, in a few short years, being there and doing the right thing, he earned an enduring greatness.

Carey McWilliams

Illustration: Sandar Hoover

Carey McWilliams.
1905-1980
Author.
Editor of The Nation

From farm labor to racial prejudice, leftist writer McWilliams used the power of his pen to fight injustice in his beloved California.

By Lou Cannon

Carey McWilliams, a self-styled American radical, once said that he wrote his books to learn more about the subjects that interested him. Fortunately for his readers, McWilliams' interests spanned the warp and woof of California. He had a lively curiosity about the land and its people and a sensitivity to injustice that led him to explore such prickly issues as farm labor, water rights, immigration and racial prejudice. Over 50 tumultuous years, beginning in 1929 with a biography of Ambrose Bierce and concluding in 1979 with his memoirs, McWilliams wrote 14 books and emerged as one of the clearest voices of the American Left. Most effective as a social critic, he also plunged cheerfully into the political arena. As a lawyer in the 1930s, he defended studio workers in Hollywood who were struggling to save their union from the mob. He was a point man in the administration of Culbert Olson, California's first Democratic governor. After a decade as West Coast correspondent of *The Nation*, he went to New York to launch a fund-raising effort to save the venerable magazine and became its editor for more than 20 years.

McWilliams' most influential book was "Factories in the Field," originally subtitled "The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California." His interest stemmed from his experience as a young lawyer in the early 1930s when he defended striking Mexican citrus workers. Later, in "The American Mercury," he described the forcible "repatriation" of Mexican-Americans during the Depression to remove them from the relief rolls. In January 1939 newly inaugurated Governor Olson named McWilliams

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Harvey Milk

As a gay activist who bucked the system and helped bring gay politicians out into the open, the brash but charismatic Milk lived by the credo: "You're never given power, you have to take it."

By Noel Brinkerhoff

Photo: Daniel Nicoletta

Harvey Milk, 1930-1978
Gay activist, San Francisco supervisor (1977-1978)

When a public official is struck down in the midst of an ascending career, the individual's story can take on an almost mythic quality. Harvey Milk, a San Francisco supervisor when he was assassinated in his City Hall office only a year after winning his first election, is an example.

He was not the first openly gay person to be elected to public office in the United States, as some believe, nor did he launch the gay rights movement. In fact, Milk wasn't even the first homosexual to fight for gay rights in San Francisco. But Milk did earn a place of reverence within the gay rights movement and, thus, a place in California history.

"For anyone who holds office today and who is gay, we all look to Harvey Milk as the one who made it possible to move forward politically," says Tony Miller, a former deputy secretary of state and California's first openly gay candidate from a major party for statewide office.

Milk's brief political career became a legacy because of his ability as a gay political leader to transcend the boundaries of identity-politics and reach out to all groups. Expressing a genuine understanding of all people's concerns, both gay and straight, Milk helped usher the homosexual community out of the shadows and into a new level of political activism.

"He both introduced the notion that a gay person could appeal to straight people and was worthy of their support, and also mobilized gay people to see one of their own as a viable candidate to put their energies and efforts behind," says Jim Rivaldo, a San Francisco-based political consultant who worked on Milk's campaigns in the 1970s.

Not bad for a guy who didn't turn his mind to the issue of gay rights until he was in his forties — a man whose quiet, middle-class Jewish upbringing on Long Island kept him firmly in the closet while serving in the U.S. Navy, working for a Wall Street investment firm and being a Barry Goldwater Republican. But once he moved to San Francisco in the late '60s, Milk found his true calling as a progressive politician and an unabashed promoter of gay rights who stridently bucked whatever established authority stood in his and the movement's way. As Milk was found of saying, "You're never given power, you have to take it."

> "It's about giving those young people out there in the Altoona, Pennsylvanias, hope."

In 1973, Milk ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors against the wishes of the city's gay leadership, which preferred a more low-key strategy of backing liberal Democrats to promote gay causes. Milk lost that first run for office but still won the gay vote despite spending less than $5,000 on his campaign and having no support from people such as Jim Foster, president of a local gay rights group, who earned national prominence after addressing the Democratic National Convention in 1972.

In 1975, Milk ran again for the board and again lost,

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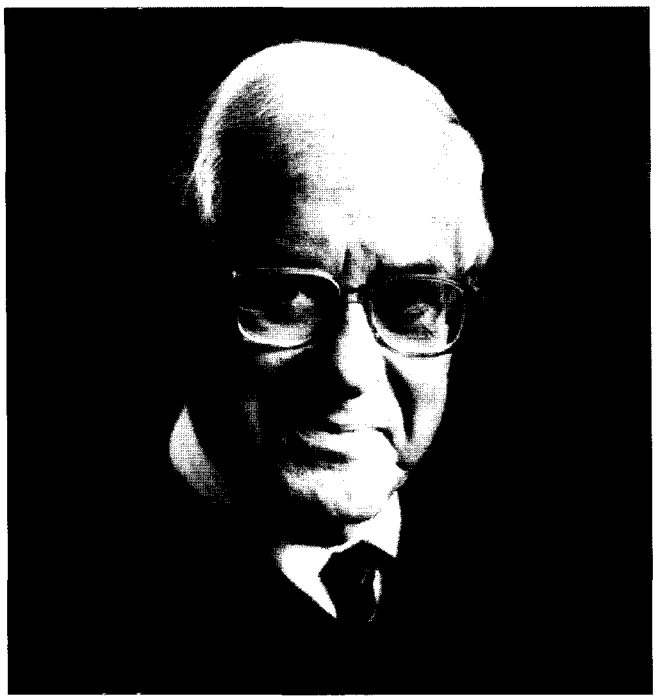
Stanley Mosk



Stanley Mosk, 1912-
Attorney General (1954-1964)
Associate Justice, Supreme Court (1964-present)

With longevity, persistence, conviction and flair, Mosk remains a force on the Supreme Court long after contemporaries have faded away.

By Ingrid Becker

In December, Associate Justice Stanley Mosk will break the longevity record on the California Supreme Court. But even after three and a half decades on the bench, the white-haired dean of the state's highest court is hardly slowing down. Mosk is now the only Democrat on the court and, as a product of the New Deal era, is generally the most liberal of the justices. At age 87 he's also the most productive justice, authoring the highest number of majority, concurring and dissenting opinions. Through those opinions, as well as his earlier work as a Los Angeles trial judge in the 1940s and '50s and as state attorney general from 1959 to 1964, Mosk has secured a place among California's legal giants.

Mosk was appointed to the bench in 1964 and in the ensuing years has gained a national reputation as a civil libertarian and staunch defender of states' rights who struck down race-based juror challenges, upheld free-speech rights at shopping centers and extended state environmental law to private development projects. Some of Mosk's best-known rulings are in criminal law where he's consistently championed the right of *habeas corpus* and fought to safeguard the rights of the accused against illegal searches and seizures. In civil law, Mosk expanded notions of tort liability, including a groundbreaking 1980 decision that allowed women with cancer whose mothers had taken the anti-miscarriage drug DES to sue the manufacturers. Mosk's passion for the underdog and literary flair are a hallmark of many of his opinions such as the one in which he wrote: "The Goddess of Justice is wearing a black arm-band today, as she weeps for the Constitution of California."

Mosk began his legal career as a solo practitioner during the height of the Great Depression. His turning point came a few years later when he was tapped to be Democratic Governor Culbert Olson's legal affairs secretary. Olson rewarded Mosk, then a rising star in the state Democratic Party, with a seat on the Los Angeles Superior Court from which he launched a successful bid for attorney general. In that post, he created new divisions to handle antitrust, constitutional rights and consumer fraud and crafted pioneering proposals on crime and law enforcement, including the measure that established the commission on Peace Officers' Standards and Training.

Mosk says he simply wants to be remembered as a judge "who was faithful" to the federal and state constitutions. And like most judges he believes politics have no place on the bench. But staying in the job as long as he has requires some remarkable political savvy, and he's also known as a shrewd politician. Mosk has survived two conservative-led political campaigns against the court, including a failed attempt last year to dump Chief Justice Ronald George and Associate Justice Ming Chin for striking down the state's parental consent law on abortion. Mosk dissented in that case and, therefore, escaped being targeted by anti-abortion groups. Mosk's supporters say the justice has a strong independent streak that shows itself

Like most judges he believes politics have no place on the bench. But staying in the job as long as he has requires some remarkable political savvy.

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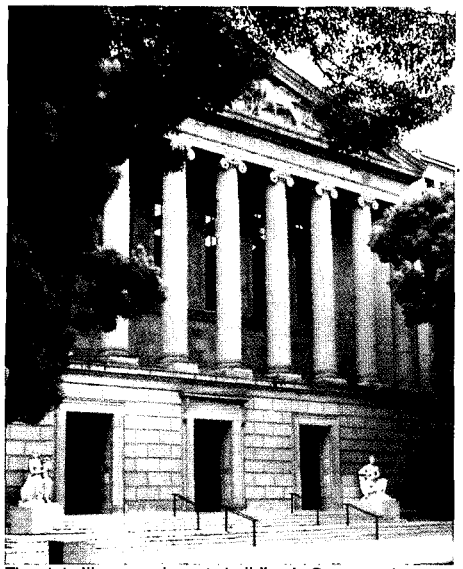
The state library and courts building in Sacramento.

often enough in cases to defuse potential foes. At times he has even offended fellow liberals such as in a 1976 ruling against racial admission quotas in the case of white medical student Allan Bakke.

But his critics charge that the justice has sometimes been willing to put aside his own liberal beliefs and bend to the political winds. In 1986 Mosk was the only member of the liberal majority to remain on the bench following the bitter campaign to bring down Chief Justice Rose Bird and Associate Justices Joseph Grodin and Cruz Reynoso. Mosk threw foes off guard when he filed his candidacy papers at the last moment, but his series of dissents on death penalty reversals, shortly before the election, certainly didn't hurt him at the polls. For his part, Mosk says he's always been personally opposed to capital punishment even though he's written his share of opinions upholding the death penalty. "I frankly wish we did not have the death penalty," he said, adding that, as a judge, he is nevertheless bound to uphold the law.

Mosk has been around long enough to see the California Supreme Court swing from left, under Chief Justice Roger Traynor, to right, under Chief Justice Malcolm Lucas, and now gravitate toward the center under Chief Justice Ronald George. And while Mosk finds himself siding with the majority a lot more now on the George court, he's not ready to give up his role as conscientious dissenter. "I am the only member of the court who goes all the way back to the days of Governor 'Pat' Brown," Mosk said, " I think this kind of diversity on the court is of significance to California jurisprudence."

John Muir

A naturalist and raconteur extraordinaire, Muir left a lasting legacy in the Sierra Club, and in the public consciousness.

By Cynthia H. Craft

The year is 1903, and John Muir is notifying his traveling companions that, unfortunately, he must put off the European and Asian tour they had so eagerly planned together:

"An influential man from Washington wants to make a trip into the Sierra with me," Muir wrote, *"and I might be able to do some forest good in freely talking around the campfire."*

* * *

It is typical John Muir. The Scottish-born mountaineer, whose spellbinding storytelling skills and infectious passion for nature's beauty made him highly sought after, did not do as he might — or as others might have — and trumpet loudly that his camping companion would be President Theodore Roosevelt. It is typical, too, that Muir regarded with such ease the prospect of this opportunity to advocate for forest protection, casting it in no more threatening a light than the chance for intimate conversation by

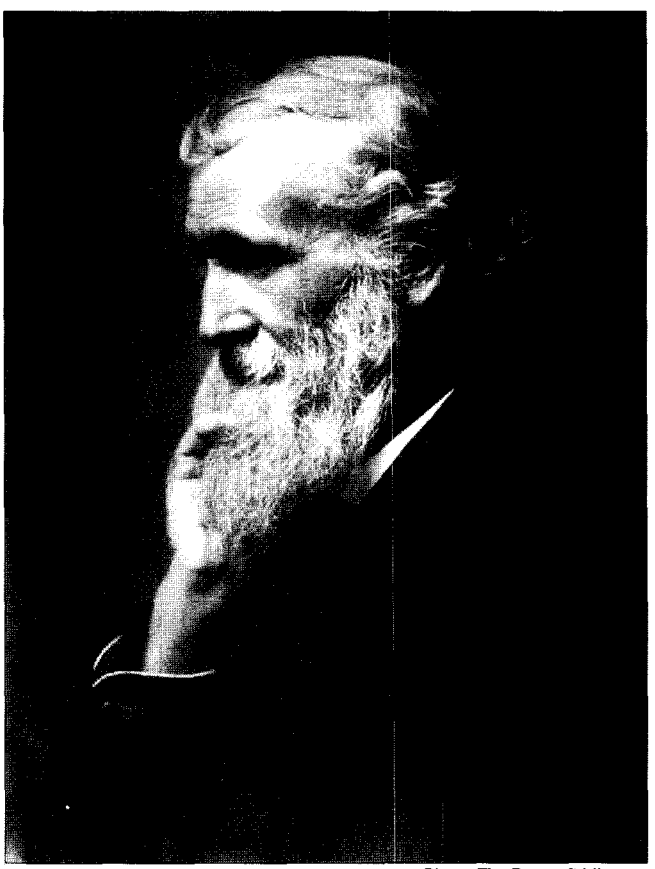
Photo: The Bancroft Library

John Muir, 1838-1914
Naturalist

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the camp's warming flames. Just the two of them, preservationist to president.

Muir's rare gift was this ability to amiably persuade, inspire and captivate all strata of people. His listeners were struck by how this man, for all his solitary wanderings, could spin a tale. He was as comfortable in an East Coast society drawing room or at the linen-draped table of a railroad baron, as he was in a rustic mountain cabin. His recollections of daring outdoor adventures, theories of glacial geology, and discussions of the works of Emerson and Thoreau opened doors for him — and once invited into the inner circles of America's powerful decision-makers, Muir was able to argue for preservation of the wilderness he loved.

These arguments were neither barbed nor confrontational. They appealed to the intellect. And they reached the heights of sermons, with Muir preaching of nature's soul-soothing properties and the everlasting value of keeping wild lands wild.

Photo: The Bancroft Library

John Muir at Yosemite

John Muir was to become California's first truly effective citizen activist. His effusive writings about the wonders of the High Sierra – so notoriously filled with superlatives that his editors tried to ban his further use of the word "glorious" – lit a fire beneath readers and inspired letters of praise and support for his campaign for forest preservation. To keep those embers glowing, Muir helped found the Sierra Club in San Francisco 1892 and served as its first president until his death in 1914.

John Muir was to become California's first truly effective citizen activist. His effusive writings lit a fire beneath readers.

Born in Scotland on April 21, 1838 – and prone to slipping back into Scottish brogue whenever it served to embellish his stories – Muir moved with his family to a farm in Wisconsin when he was 11. In his early years, the industrious youth and budding inventor endured rigorous schooling and, later, 17-hour workdays on the farm. His botanical rambles began after he finished studies at the University of Wisconsin.

It was through happenstance and spontaneity that Muir found himself in California's Sierra Nevada at age 30, having drifted off course from a trip he originally intended to take to South America.

In the Sierras, Muir found his life's work – and his heart's desire. He spent a full decade mapping the mountain range, studying its trees, forming theories about how ancient, gigantic glaciers had carved out the sculpted valleys of Yosemite and Hetch Hetchy. He was fascinated with the huge sequoias, flora and boulder formations, and chronicled his notions of the origins of the valleys in journals that later would be widely published.

Muir's wilderness reportage, along with his articles in *Scribner's Monthly* and *Century Magazine*, helped fuel the public's fancy at a time of growing interest in national parks for recreation and tourism. His march at the forefront of this movement began when the nation had only one such park to boast of, Yellowstone.

By the 1890s, with Congress wakening to the call, Muir inspired thousands of "new conservation recruits" to lobby their representatives and, by 1896, he won his goal of persuading Congress to appoint a forest study commission. For California, Muir's big victory was urging Congress' 1890 vote to create Yosemite National Park, and, years later, convincing the state Legislature to assign its portion of the valley floor, badly mismanaged and overcrowded with a mishmash of development, to the federal government.

An inevitable backlash built, led by timber, mining and other interests seeking to harvest natural resources in the forest reserves. Muir found himself engaged in full-fledged battle, most notably over designs to turn the pristine Hetch Hetchy Valley – his favorite – into a reservoir of water supplies for the City of San Francisco. Here, he was to learn a heartbreaking lesson: His efforts to restrict public access to Hetch Hetchy, in exchange for opening up the Yosemite Valley to wider recreation and tourism use, actually made it more vunerable, since people were less inclined to stand and fight for land that was, to them, largely off-limits. This was Muir's deepest-felt loss, and the only time the naturalist, uncharacteristically intense in his opposition to flooding Hetch Hetchy, was labeled a fanatic by his foes.

Muir died at age 76 on Christmas Eve in 1914, the year after Hetch Hetchy disappeared under 175 feet of water and the year World War I broke out. Today, the memory of this trailblazer remains robust. His lifetime of advocating for wilderness and park protection paved the way for followers in the Sierra Club and elsewhere. He was a father of the national park system, and savior of Yosemite Valley. And he was fondly remembered as a nature interpreter by fellow naturalists and U.S. presidents alike. (Roosevelt wrote to Muir in 1907: "How I do wish I were again with you camping out under those great sequoias...!") Muir is destined to remain in the public consciousness. No other pioneer or activist has more parks and public buildings named for him — and the mighty vistas of Yosemite stand protected for the ages thanks to Muir.

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William Mulholland

Whether villain or visionary, there's no mistaking that Mulholland, by harnessing a river and herding it south, gave life to Los Angeles but also spawned a water-control debate that continues today.

By Nancy Vogel

William Mulholland did not invent Los Angeles. He unleashed it.

This Irish immigrant and self-taught engineer brought water to what was a thirsty town of 500,000 people in 1914. He freed it to defy the desert and metastasize into the nation's second-largest city, a juggernaut of 3.5 million people.

In doing so, Mulholland set the collision course for water development that California still follows. He launched the frantic search for water from which arid, urban California cannot rest. And his exploits taught water-blessed regions to guard their own supplies or risk dying a dismal death like the Owens Valley, which Mulholland sacrificed to serve his beloved city.

A former merchant seaman and well driller, Mulholland settled in Los Angeles in 1877, when he was 22 years old. He worked his way up from ditch tender to chief of the city's water department. A big, brash man with a keen memory, he foresaw the day when drought would drive thousands of residents from Los Angeles.

"A city quickly finds its level," Mulholland said in 1905, "and that level is its water supply."

In a fertile valley on the dry side of the Sierra more than 200 miles northeast, Mulholland found water for another 2 million Angelenos. There the Owens River pooled in a vast lake and watered the farms and towns of 8,000 people.

In an engineering project as ambitious as any of its day, Mulholland proposed to deliver the river to Los Angeles. With boosterism and scare tactics, he rallied the city to his cause, the Los Angeles Aqueduct.

"If you don't get the water now, you'll never need it," Mulholland claimed during a 1905 campaign to approve bonds for the aqueduct. "The dead never get thirsty."

William Mulholland, 1855-1935
Engineer, the Los Angeles Aqueduct

Photo: The Bancroft Library

Hailed as the city's savior, Mulholland and an army of 5,000 workers with steam tractors, pickaxes and dynamite built an artificial river across the Mojave Desert. They finished in five years. When the Owens Valley water finally arrived in the San Fernando Valley on Nov. 5, 1913, more than 40,000 Angelenos in their Sunday best gathered to rejoice.

Mulholland set the collision course for water development that California still follows. He launched the frantic search for water from which arid, urban California cannot rest.

"There it is," Mulholland said as Sierra snowmelt plunged into the aqueduct. "Take it!"

With a new supply of water, the city of Los Angeles annexed the San Fernando Valley and nearly tripled in size. In a scheme that inspired the 1974 movie "Chinatown", a group of powerful business leaders bought thousands of acres of arid, cheap San Fernando Valley land before news of the aqueduct plan became public. They saw millions of dollars of profit when the Owens Valley water inflated the value of their land.

Across the desert, the Owens Valley withered as Los Angeles siphoned more of the water to which it had amassed rights in a sometimes underhanded campaign. Several nighttime raids that dynamited portions of

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Mulholland's aqueduct in the 1920s only stopped the hemorrhage temporarily.

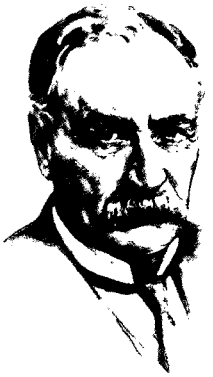
And Valley residents received no help from Washington. President Theodore Roosevelt called the water "a hundred or thousand-fold more important" if used by Los Angeles.

Farms closed, ranchers moved and the 110-square-mile lake, once frantic with ducks, dried to a crust that today is the source of some of the nation's worst particulate pollution.

The Owens Valley, now owned almost entirely by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, is a potent metaphor in California's many water battles, a warning to water-blessed regions of the greed and ruthlessness against which they must guard.

Southern California, on the other hand, embraced Mulholland's hubris. His engineering heirs have built in California an octopus of aqueducts that shifts water hundreds of miles to replace sagebrush with cantaloupe and maintain the megalopolis of 16 million people that surrounds Los Angeles. They have rearranged California's landscape to get around the natural aridity that Mulholland refused to accept.

"To his simple and rugged heart," wrote John Russell McCarthy in a 1938 magazine profile of Mulholland, "a great Los Angeles meant a big Los Angeles,and by the Eternal he would make a big Los Angeles possible."



William Mulholland

The Owens Valley water that Mulholland captured seemed, for a time, more plentiful than Los Angeles could ever use. But the sun-seekers kept coming, converting the lemon orchards of the San Fernando Valley to rows of bungalows.

By 1923 Mulholland was eyeing the faraway Colorado River. There, he figured, flowed enough water to satisfy a Los Angeles of 7.5 million people.

Mulholland died in 1935, at age 79, disgraced and heartbroken by the collapse of his Saint Francis Dam, which drowned an estimated 400 people and led to the establishment of California's dam inspection program.

But six years later, Colorado River water flowed into Los Angeles through a new 242-mile-long aqueduct, freeing the region once again to absorb all newcomers with scarcely a thought to drought — for a while, at least.

"It is a truism," wrote water historian William L. Kahrl in 1982, "that Los Angeles today would not exist without the panoply of reservoirs and cross-country conduits that make up the modern water system of California.What is perhaps not so self-evident, however, is that the reverse also may be true."

William Parker

Photo: Los Angeles Police Historical Society

William Parker, 1902-1966
Police chief, Los Angeles (1950-1965)

For better or worse, Chief Parker's "Thin Blue Line" lived on long after its mentor's time had come and gone.

By Jim Newton

Much of what is good — and bad — about today's Los Angeles Police Department is found in the life and legacy of William Parker. In fact, many of the tensions in modern law enforcement, particularly in the West, date to Parker's profound and contradictory contribution to the field.

A lawyer and decorated Army officer, Parker inherited one of America's worst police forces and turned it into one of the best. Once slovenly and corrupt, the LAPD under Parker became a model of "professional policing," its officers rigidly resistant to graft and powerfully committed to fighting crime.

It was Parker who coined the expression "The Thin Blue Line"

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A. Alan Post

A painter by passion, a gentleman by nature, Post gave a new meaning to nonpartisan as the chief watchdog for the state's budget.

By William Hauck

Illustration: Norm Hines

A. Alan Post, 1914-
Chief fiscal analyst, (1949-1977)

Alan Post is a study in positive contrasts. He has always been an accomplished artist and painter. Simultaneously, he also won widespread respect as the chief fiscal analyst for the California Legislature. Upon his retirement in August 1977, the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted that Post had been "a force for improving the caliber of the California Legislature" as well as "one of the state's finest public servants."

With the probable exception of former Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, Post likely had more impact on state public policy decision-making and the state budget than any other single person. The former legislative analyst, now 85 and living in Sacramento, is physically a slight and soft-spoken man who has always conducted himself in a gentlemanly manner. Behind that unassuming demeanor, however, Post fulfilled the role of his office in a fiercely independent and doggedly nonpartisan fashion. In so doing, he gained respect and power in the Capitol.

In a 1970 *California Journal* interview, Post described the role of his office: "Our mission is primarily a cold-blooded one, of trying to get down to what the state can afford ..."

In carrying out his role, Post often was at odds with governors and legislative leaders. His entire focus, as he described it, was "trying to get taxpayers' money's worth out of every dollar."

For example, in 1973 Post's office found itself in conflict with a major school-finance bill authored by Democratic Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti. The bill also was supported by Governor Ronald Reagan. Asked to comment on the situation, Moretti told *The Sacramento Bee*, "I know how tough it is when Alan is on the other side ... He is so revered in the Legislature. His nonpartisanship is absolute. He has criticized fiscal programs of a Democratic governor [Pat Brown for overspending] and a Republican governor [Reagan for underspending]."

And then, reflecting on Post's influence, Moretti added, "I honestly believe the man is beautiful."

While remaining nonpartisan, it is clear that Post had a keen understanding of politics and human behavior. He consistently reinforced the value of factual information even though it often conflicted with the pet programs of powerful members of the Legislature. To its credit, the Legislature recognized the critical value of this function and has maintained the Office of Legislative Analyst to this day.

Post was well prepared for the job. Born on Sept. 17, 1914, in Alhambra, California, he graduated from Occidental College in 1938 and took postgraduate studies in economics at Princeton University. Prior to being appointed as the acting legislative auditor (as the office then was known) in 1949, Post's work experience included two years in the banking and investment fields, instructor of economics at Occidental, assistant professor and acting chairman of the Department of Economics at American University in Washington, D.C., economist for the Division of Financial Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, and research director with the Utah Foundation – a nonprofit agency that at the time worked closely with Utah state government.

Post likely had more impact on state public policy decision-making and the state budget than any other single person.

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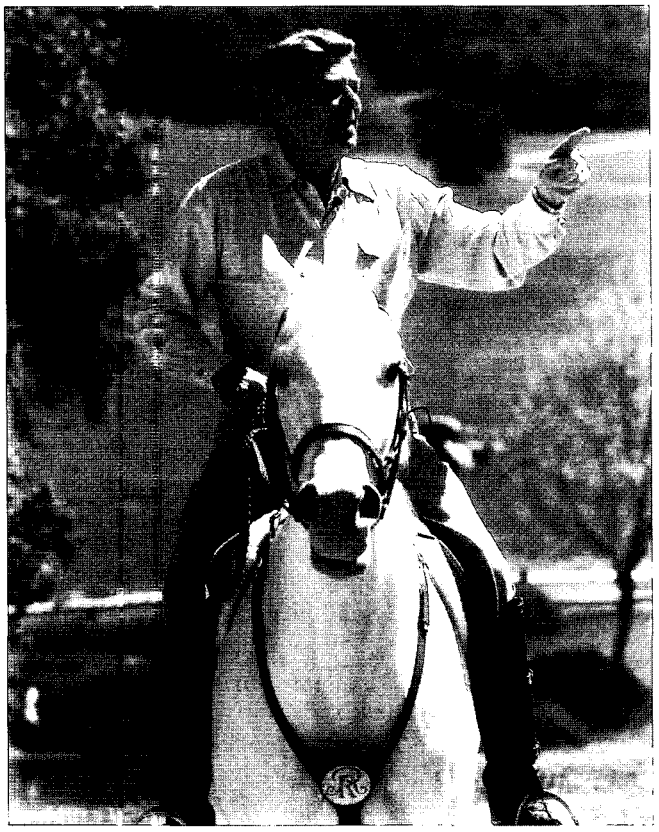
Ronald Reagan



Ronald Reagan, 1911-
Governor (1967-1974)
President (1980-1988)

An inspirational figure, Reagan reinvigorated the GOP, stabilized state government and comforted Californians jolted by the radicalism of the '60s.

By Lou Cannon

Ronald Reagan, the 33rd governor of California and 40th president of the United States, was an inspirational leader who left a conflicted legacy. Nationally, he restored the sagging confidence of Americans and sponsored a military buildup that led to negotiations with the Soviets and the end of the Cold War, but he also saddled the nation with enormous federal budget deficits. In California, Reagan's political impact also was significant and conflicted and is a benchmark for historical examination of his larger legacy.

On October 27, 1964, Reagan made his political debut with a resonant nationally televised speech for Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater. Although Goldwater lost by a landslide to President Lyndon Johnson a week later, Reagan's speech established him overnight as a conservative superstar and a prospective candidate for governor of California. His timing proved fortuitous. In California, as elsewhere, Republicans were thirsting for new leadership while the Democrats were ripe for a fall. Johnson carried California by a million votes in 1964, but middle-class and working-class Democrats soon became distressed by civil disorders, notably the explosive Watts riots in 1965, and campus unrest that Reagan labeled the "mess at Berkeley." Public discontent was undergirded by the rising casualty toll in the Vietnam War. In Sacramento, the once-energetic administration of Governor Pat Brown by 1966 clung wearily to power. Brown's strategists alternately dismissed Reagan as a right-wing extremist or as a fading and unqualified movie actor. Both lines of attack failed. Unlike Goldwater, the amiable Reagan didn't scare people. And in a state that already had sent song-and-dance man George Murphy to the U.S. Senate, Reagan's Hollywood background was no hindrance. As Michael Barone observed in "Our Country," Reagan "spoke in the idiom of the 1940s movies ... which had been universally watched [and] which had appealed winningly to almost every segment of society."

Reagan defeated Brown by a million votes and set about to "squeeze and cut and trim" the government. Neither Reagan nor his aides knew how to do this — "we were novice amateurs," said communications director Lyn Nofziger — but Reagan persevered after early blunders and learned the political ropes. The seminal action of his first year in office was a record (and progressive) tax increase that balanced the state budget and advanced the policy objectives of Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh (D-Los Angeles), who miscalculated that raising taxes would ruin Reagan politically. Instead, the bill produced so much revenue that it freed Reagan from having to raise taxes again during his eight years in Sacramento.

For Reagan, his two terms as governor took the rough edges off his conservatism and put him on the path to the presidency.

Reagan won re-election in 1970 by a reduced margin against Unruh, the Democratic nominee, and plunged into negotiations with Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti (D-Los Angeles) that produced useful welfare reform and property-tax relief mea-

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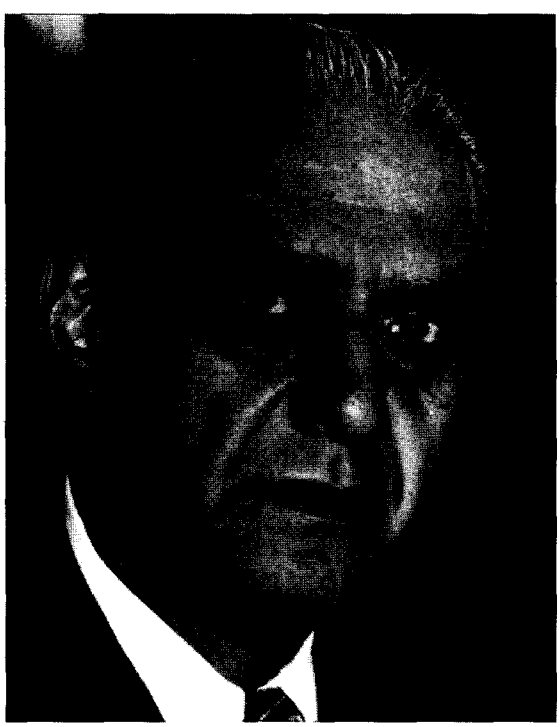
sures. These were not his only successes. Although he had terrified environmentalists with his campaign rhetoric, Reagan signed a wild rivers bill, set aside parklands, and blocked construction of a high dam that would have flooded Round Valley on the north coast. Despite a running feud with the University of California, he increased spending for higher education by 100 percent while overall state spending rose 50 percent. Reagan did better at controlling government growth than these inflation-boosted raw numbers suggest. He held state employment at roughly a constant level during his governorship. His biggest setback came late in his second term when voters rejected a constitutional amendment that would have limited the rates of state and local taxation.

Reagan's most lasting legacy was to set a tone of skepticism about expansionist state government that persists to the present day. The idea that government should be a protective benefactor of the people was rooted in the Progressive era, flourished under Earl Warren, and flowered during the Pat Brown years. In California, this progressivism was banished by Reagan, never to return in the 20th century. Democrat Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., who succeeded Reagan, preached a minimalist doctrine and squeezed most social programs. The Republicans who came after Jerry Brown largely accepted Reaganesque notions of limited government. Democrats did not return

to power until 1998, and then under the banner of a cautious centrist. Whatever else can be said of him, Reagan casts a long political shadow.

For Reagan, his two terms as governor took the rough edges off his conservatism and put him on the path to the presidency. He benefited from his negotiations with Moretti, which taught him that he could work with legislators who did not share his views. After he was elected president, Reagan told me that he had learned in the sessions with Moretti that he could hold his own with career politicians and predicted that he would be persuasive in dealing with Congress. Legendary House Speaker Thomas (Tip) O'Neill (D-Massachusetts) took a different view. He told Reagan when they met on November 18, 1980, that Sacramento was the "minor leagues" and that Reagan was in "the big leagues" now. Reagan shook O'Neill's hand and did not bother to contradict him. But six months and two stinging budget defeats later, O'Neill, who was nobody's fool, confessed to constituents that he had badly underestimated the new president. Reagan's on-the-job training in Sacramento, incorporated into his life's experiences as a practiced performer, had taught him to hit big-league pitches.

Edward Roybal



Ed Roybal, 1916-
City Council, Los Angeles (1949-1962)
Congressman (1962-1992)

For more than four decades, Ed Roybal was front and center of a movement to expand the Los Angeles Latino community's participation in California elections and policy-making.

By Art Torres

One of my first memories of Ed Roybal was the annual Mexican Independence parade in East Los Angeles on September 16, 1960. Our family would gather after school and head for the *tortilleria* owned by my uncle's brother, which had the best view of the parade. I was only 14 but already had followed the Adlai Stevenson campaign for president, and my interest was piqued with the prospect of a young John Kennedy seeking the presidency.

The parade was an opportunity for the general public to actu-

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Artie Samish

Not content to influence policy-making with campaign contributions alone, Samish invented his own fail-safe method of getting his way with legislators. He called his specialty "Select and Elect."

By Karen Getman

Artie Samish, 1897-1974
Lobbyist

Until very recently, a large portrait of lobbyist Artie Samish, holding a ventriloquist's dummy he wryly called "Mr. Legislature," hung in the corridor outside the hearing room at the state Fair Political Practices Commission. It was a print of the 1949 *Collier's Magazine* cover shot for an article titled "The Secret Boss of California." The most memorable line in the article may have been an observation by then-Governor Earl Warren. "On matters that affect his clients," Warren said, "Artie unquestionably has more power than the governor."

In his time from the late 1920s through the early '50s, Samish was the most powerful lobbyist in California. His unwitting legacy is a series of laws to limit the power of lobbyists

Born in San Francisco in 1897, and abandoned by his father early on, Samish left school after the seventh grade to help support his mother. A series of odd jobs eventually led him to San Francisco City Hall and later to Sacramento, where he began his lifelong obsession with the Legislature. Samish started as a page in 1918, entering the "Third House" a few years later. His clients eventually included important industry leaders and, most notably, the brewing companies, which served as his power base.

> There have been other notorious, powerful and even corrupt lobbyists, but no one quite like Samish.

Samish decried the illegal lobbying practices of bribery and intimidation. "For amateurs," he said. His specialty was to "Select and Elect." He selected the persons he believed would be most sympathetic to his clients' interests, and made sure they got elected to the Legislature. How? He raised money — lots of it — for their campaigns, but retained control over how the money was spent. He used trade association members as campaign workers, and threw in an ample dose of deceptive political advertising.

Once Samish had his candidates in the Legislature, he worked hard to keep them in his grip. He steered business opportunities their way to augment their paltry legislative salaries ($100 per month, precisely what the FPPC's part-time commissioners earn today). He used legislative allies to manipulate committee assignments. He mastered the arcane rules of bill-making. He worked to defeat uncooperative legislators, and used ballot initiatives when the Legislature wouldn't act. If a company balked at paying Samish's enormous fees, it suffered: Its legislative proposals were killed in committee, its earnings taxed, its competitors welcomed. Company executives inevitably came crawling back, checkbook in hand.

Although a registered Republican, Samish's only loyalty was to his clients. He worked on contingency, getting a bonus for each legislative hurdle that he cleared, earning nothing if the legislation failed to pass. If it was important, it always passed.

The reign of Artie Samish came to an end in 1953, when a jury found him guilty of tax evasion. He served 26

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months in federal prison.

Since then, the people of California — and their Legislature — have enacted significant reform measures to prevent another Samish. Lobbyists cannot work on contingency. They cannot shower expensive gifts on politicians, and every dollar they give must be disclosed. They cannot even deliver contributions from their clients in the Capitol.

There have been other notorious, powerful and even corrupt lobbyists, but no one quite like Samish. Even as their ranks have grown, no single lobbyist has been able to exert the staggering control over legislators and clients that Samish did. Indeed, in recent years the focus has been not on restricting the power of lobbyists, but on restricting the power of legislators. Voters have set term limits, curbed the use of political and public funds, limited contributions, and diminished the strength of the two-party system.

But just as nature abhors a vacuum, so does power. Many argue that the attempts to limit the power of legislators have increased the power of lobbyists. Fresh-faced legislators and their staff may know far less about the substance and process of lawmaking than the lobbyists, many of whom spent years in the institution that they now are paid to influence.

Samish argued that the most effective way to control lobbyists wasn't through the power of the law, but through the power of the vote: "The people must take more interest in the men they elect." Certainly one cannot work without the other.

Pete Schabarum

Pete Schabarum, 1929-
Assemblyman
(1967-1972)
Los Angeles County
supervisor (1972-1991)

The father of California's term limits law installed a revolving door to return the Legislature to the will of the people.

By Bill Stall

Pete Schabarum was an acerbic and combative elected official who was not well-liked even by many of his Republican colleagues. When Schabarum stepped down in 1991 after 19 years as a Los Angeles County supervisor, none of his four colleagues on the board attended his retirement party. But Schabarum didn't much care whether they liked him or not. A star halfback at UC Berkeley and for the San Francisco 49ers, Schabarum was a zealous Republican conservative who was interested in results, mostly in cutting the size and influence of government. Indeed, Schabarum shook the California political system to its very roots as the author of the state's term limits law.

Schabarum was the chief proponent and major financial backer of Proposition 140, a constitutional amendment on the November 1990 ballot that he vowed would rid Sacramento of "legislative dictators" and purge the state capital of its "web of special favors and patronage." Capitalizing on a string of corruption cases emanating from the Legislature and a general distrust of lawmakers to work the people's will, Proposition 140 was approved by a vote of 52 percent to 48 percent.

Proposition 140 was one of the first three term limits measures to pass — Colorado and Oklahoma also adopted limits that year — but was among the most restrictive. Members of the state Assembly were limited to three two-year terms and state senators to two four-year terms. It prohibited any legislator who had served to the limit in one house from ever seeking election again in that chamber.

Nine years later, Schabarum says he is disappointed in some aspects of how the measure has turned out.

The measure also terminated legislative retirement benefits and forced massive cuts in the Legislature's budget.

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Upton Sinclair

This fervent muckraker ran for governor on an impulse and, in the process, energized a class of have-nots thirsting for a champion.

By James N. Gregory

Upton Sinclair, 1878-1968
Author, social activist

It is the meat industry that probably remembers him best today, but the author of "The Jungle" and 93 other novels and muckraking texts left what may be a still greater mark on the politics of California, his home for the last half of a long life. The state's reputation as a center for innovative left-wing political movements and some of its key political institutions owe much to this eccentric author and lifelong radical.

Upton Sinclair was already a famous writer and one of America's best known socialists when, with his second wife, Mary Craig, he came West to make his home in Pasadena in the spring of 1916. There he set up his writing desk and began dictating (he usually worked with stenographers) a stream of prose that would in time reshape the image of Southern California. In half a dozen books and scores of articles, Sinclair pictured Southern California as a land of "orange groves and jails" ruled by a cabal of "oligarchs" led by the malevolent Harry Chandler, publisher of the conservative *Los Angeles Times*. Recycled in the writings of Carey McWilliams, Louis Adamic, Mike Davis, and journalists and historians ever since, this manichean story of "Dirty Harry" and the oligarchs of LA was one of Sinclair's more important if intangible gifts to the region.

He never became governor, but Upton Sinclair did as much as anyone to shape the state's political image.

In the early 1920s he made another gift. An early supporter of the American Civil Liberties Union, Sinclair launched the first West Coast chapter in 1922 and made that organization an important resource for radicals of various descriptions during the repressive 1920s and turbulent 1930s. Today, a plaque near the Long Beach waterfront marks the site where Sinclair was arrested in May 1923 while giving a speech in support of striking IWW transport workers. He had begun to read the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights when the police handcuffed him and hustled him away.

Sinclair's most significant entry into California politics came in 1934, when he took his socialist commitments into the Democratic Party and almost became governor. It started as a fantasy. He wrote a pamphlet on how, if elected governor, he would "End Poverty in California" by seizing Depression-idled factories and farms and creating cooperatives for the state's 700,000 unemployed. The idea caught fire. EPIC clubs sprang up across the state and soon California was in the midst of one of the most dramatic political campaigns of the century. Working-class Californians registered to vote by the tens of thousands that spring and summer to join the EPIC crusade, and Sinclair won the Democratic primary election by a landslide. The November election was a different story. Mercilessly attacked by a uniformly hostile press that warned of his plan to "Sovietize" California, Sinclair lost to incumbent Republican Governor Frank Merriam.

But EPIC left quite a legacy. The California Democratic Party was never the same. EPIC Democrats went on to build a left-wing faction that vied for leadership in the party throughout the next two decades. The Republican Party

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was perhaps the key beneficiary. Surviving the New Deal era in better shape than most Republican organizations, the state GOP learned how to field moderates like Earl Warren and capitalize on Democratic Party factionalism.

EPIC also introduced a tool later used by both parties. The EPIC clubs, some 800 of them that Sinclair set up to take over the Democratic Party in 1934, provided a model for club systems in both parties, most notably the California Republican Assembly and the California Democratic Council.

Upton Sinclair's venture into electoral politics ended with EPIC, but the Wizard of Pasadena remained a presence in California for another 34 years. Toward the end of his life (he died in 1968 at age 90), the aged crusader enjoyed counseling a new generation about struggles for social justice and the techniques of radical politics. Some of his lessons were not lost.

The California Peace and Freedom Party, launched in 1967, included some veterans of the EPIC campaign. A more direct salute came from Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda. When the activist couple decided to move into electoral politics in the mid-1970s, they set up a grass-roots organization, the Campaign for Economic Democracy, modeled explicitly on Sinclair's EPIC clubs.

Still, as important as the tangible parts of the Upton Sinclair legacy may be, it is interesting to think about another aspect. The eccentric writer may have shared part of his own reputation with his adopted state. The notion that California plays host to innovative and utopian political movements dates back to the press coverage of the 1934 election. He never became governor, but Upton Sinclair did as much as anyone to shape the state's political image.

Robert Gordon Sproul

An eloquent voice for University of California education for more than 40 years, Sproul spent a lifetime guiding UC's growth as an intellectual powerhouse.

By Richard Atkinson

Robert Gordon Sproul graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, in the same class as his friend Earl Warren and, like Warren, was destined to become a shaper of events in 20th-century California. But unlike Warren, the future governor and Supreme Court chief justice, Sproul chose to devote his prodigious energies to a single institution—the University of California.

In 1914, after a year working for the city of Oakland as an efficiency engineer following his college graduation, Sproul joined the UC comptroller's office in Berkeley. He would spend the next 44 years with the university, 28 of them as its president.

He began his career under the great university builder Benjamin Ide Wheeler, whose leadership had made UC Berkeley the largest and one of the best research universities in the country. With the opening in 1919 of the Southern Branch—later known as UCLA—California also became home to the nation's first multi-campus system.

Photo: The Bancroft Library

Robert Gordon Sproul, 1891-1975
UC president, 1930-1958

Sproul was influenced by Wheeler's grand vision of a

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Jesse Unruh

Known as "Big Daddy" or "The Boss," Unruh was the leader who shaped the Legislature, granting it the power and influence it enjoys today.

By Bill Boyarsky

In 1963, the late *Look* magazine published an article about Jesse Marvin Unruh's widely publicized visit to Yale. Although he conceded the article was favorable, Unruh was not satisfied, as was often the case with anything written about him. He objected to being characterized as a boss. "Leader," he said in a letter to the editors, was a more accurate term.

But he was a boss, The Boss, in fact, when he was speaker of the Assembly from 1961 to 1968, a boss with an economic and social agenda that extended far beyond the lust for power for its own sake.

It has been 45 years since Unruh arrived in a provincial, unsophisticated Capitol that was being confronted with the economic and social revolution that reshaped California after World War II.

He was elected in 1954 to a Legislature woefully unequipped to deal with these huge changes. When he became speaker, he changed all that. Unruh was primarily responsible for modernizing the Legislature, giving the Assembly the staffing and research capability needed to deal with the new California. His innovations upgraded the entire Legislature. From it came programs that revolutionized the care of the mentally disabled, imposed standards on the public schools and began preparations for the new technological economy that has replaced California's former dependence on defense. He also created a system of campaign contributions and finance that was the prototype of today's corruptible political funding.

He could make you feel like his closest friend, his most trusted ally — or the dumbest person in the world.

That side of him was overshadowed by his public persona. That image was captured by the damning nickname pinned on him by the press and his political foes — Big Daddy, after the domineering father in the play "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof." Big Daddy. Boss. They sounded the same.

Jesse Unruh, 1922-1987
Assemblyman (1955-1970)
Assembly speaker (1961-1968)
Treasurer (1974-1987)

Unruh continued to remind people of Big Daddy even after he lost almost 100 pounds. In fact, the name had been a perfect fit for his pre-diet 5 foot-10-inch, 280-pound-plus body, draped in expensive suits designed to disguise his huge physique. He had thick lips and a bulldog face, with jowls that hung around his shirt collar. He insatiably chased booze, food and women. Fat or thin, his appearance was intimidating. He had sharp eyes that seemed capable of boring into a person's inner depths or most carefully concealed weaknesses. His voice was deep, with a hint of his native Texas, often warm and friendly, but just as often fierce. He could make you feel like his closest friend, his most trusted ally – or the dumbest person in the world.

There was much more to this complex and gifted man. Unruh was a visionary, although not in the intellectual or abstract sense. His vision was shaped by his own difficult climb from rural Texas poverty, his years in blue-collar jobs and his rise through the swift and tricky currents of Los Angeles legislative district elections and Sacramento's Capitol politics. From those experiences came two great legacies, the Unruh Civil Rights Act and legislation imposing regulations on retail credit. He scorned the Democratic left, especially affluent intellectuals, whom he called "limousine liberals."

He made a power center out of whatever political job

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he had. Before Unruh became chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, the job was little more than an errand boy for the governor. Unruh seized control of the committee and used it to advance his policies and political power. Before Unruh, the speaker of the Assembly was nothing more than a mediator between legislative factions. Unruh turned it into the second-most powerful office in the state. In fact, there were moments when he had more power than the governor. When Unruh became state treasurer, the office was not much more than an accounting job. Under him, it became a post of great political and policy influence.

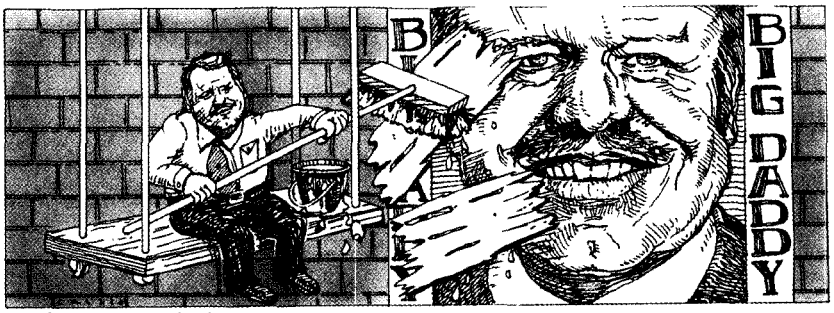

Illustration: Jan Castle

He was elected treasurer in 1974 after losing to Ronald Reagan for governor in 1970 and to Tom Bradley for mayor of Los Angeles in 1973. He quickly figured out that campaign contributions could be wrested from the financial houses that underwrite state bond issues. To help them, he persuaded the governor and Legislature to create special districts to finance projects that required even more state bonds. But like the old political boss, he used his power for good, forcing the financial houses to finance medical clinics for the rural poor in areas the medical profession ignored. Years later, long after his death in 1987, the clinics still existed in small towns.

They were The Boss' last legacy.

Earl Warren

A onetime tough-as-nails county prosecutor, Warren defied expectations to become one of California's most well-loved — and its only three-term — governor, whose reign ended when he was appointed chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

By Ed Cray

Earl Warren, 1891-1974
Attorney General (1939-1943), Governor (1943-1953), U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice (1953-1969)

He was an unlikely visionary, and an even less-likely reformer, this lifelong prosecutor, Old Joe Knowland's boy for chrissakes, a Hoover man if you could believe it, a creature of the Associated Farmers, and a Republican Party apologist whom New Dealers raked as anti-union and pro-big business.

Sacramento's badly outnumbered Democrats feared the second coming of the bloated Frank Merriam governorship when Earl Warren was elected governor in 1942. What could one expect from a man "with little intellectual background, little genuine depth or coherent political philosophy, a man who has probably never bothered with an abstract thought twice in his life," as widely respected journalist John Gunther put it?

No civil libertarian, this onetime Alameda County district attorney. A squeeze-the-scrotum prosecutor, as attorney general Warren had played a major role in bringing about the panicky evacuation of 110,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the West Coast.

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Photo: The Bancroft Library

Earl Warren and Fred Smith at the 1930 graft trial in San Francisco.

Yet for all of these presumed faults, Warren had qualities that would arguably rank him as California's finest governor. They were qualities, too, that assured he would be the only man in history to be twice re-elected to the Capitol's corner office.

First, he saw himself as "governor of all the people of California, not just those who voted for me...." Once elected, he ran his office — to the dismay of Republican stalwarts — in a nonpartisan fashion. Second, he continued to learn, to grow, to rise to the responsibilities thrust upon him by war, reconversion, and his state's astonishing growth. At 48, an age when most men's opinions have solidified, Warren's were just jelling, according to his friend and first-term state Attorney General Robert W. Kenney.

Warren had qualities that would arguably rank him as California's finest governor.

Third, Warren sought to appoint the best people to state jobs and to the bench without regard to politics. Having secured the best people, and the searches were sometimes national in scope, Warren left them free to do their job. Gather the facts and do what you think is right, he told one appointee, "and you won't have any trouble with me."

Charismatic before that word was common currency, Warren also was gifted with a handsome family, including three stunning and much photographed daughters. Three times Democrats would ruefully learn that Warren's unassuming qualities made him a potent campaigner. The public simply adopted the Warrens as family.

Though World War II dominated Warren's first term, he forged a bond with California's 8.5 million residents that lasted throughout his 10-year administration. That link of shared endeavor was crucial in meeting the challenges posed by dozens of new defense plants and military bases, by a 28 percent population increase in just four years, and shortages, always shortages of workers and materiel.

"Every Monday morning we had to find accommodations for a new town of 10,000 people ... new sewers, schools, water supply and roads," he reminisced.

Meanwhile he was ramrodding the transformation of California's mental asylums into hospitals, cleaning up a corrupt prison system, guiding the plan for a comprehensive and ultimately vast statewide water system. He pushed through reform of the state's usury and lending laws, boosted workmen's compensation payments, and funded child-care centers.

To end "the requirement of pauperism" among state workers, his appointed study committee (a favorite Warren tool) recommended a raise in employees' pensions; the Legislature dutifully increased the monthly checks to become the nation's most generous. And all this even as Warren was salting away a $60 million tax surplus in a postwar "Rainy Day Fund."

He did not get everything he sought. Opening the 1945, 1947 and 1949 legislative sessions, he asked the Legislature for some form of catastrophic health insurance — Warren could be stubborn when he believed his cause just — and three times the California Medical Association beat back that "communist" plan. Three times he tried to establish a state fair employment practices commission and three times he failed.

Still his accomplishments were palpable and lasting. It was Earl Warren, UC Berkeley '12, who began the unprecedented expansion of the University of California by creating a Santa Barbara campus. Over the opposition of the oil and trucking industries, he maneuvered through the Legislature a massive postwar highway construction program, a model for the national freeway system. He found money for parks and more parks. His crime commission greased the ouster of a corrupt attorney general and momentarily cleaned up a dirty Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. The Warren administration fostered a prosperous, expanding California, one that welcomed newcomers. His vision literally shaped life in the Golden State into the 21st century. A consummate politician, Warren narrowly missed the presidency itself. His principled decision in 1952 to allow the California delegation to vote its conscience made possible Dwight Eisenhower's nomination; Ike repaid the debt by appointing Warren to the first vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court a year later.

Warren was 62 and in the first year of his third term when the center seat on the high court unexpectedly fell vacant. For the next 16 years the nation, like California before it, would watch Chief Justice Earl Warren continue to jell. And set a mark of achievement no Californian in this or any century has matched.

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Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter

As political pioneers, Whitaker and Baxter blazed a trail to a new era in political consulting.

By Susan Rasky

Clem Whitaker, 1899-1961
Leone Baxter, 1907-
Political consultants

History doesn't record the precise moment when a savvy consultant first stepped in to help a politician sway public opinion or crack a tricky electorate. But courtesy of the ancient chronicler Herodotus, it does provide an account from the 5th century B.C. of how a Greek nobleman helped an exiled general woo the Athenians with an elaborate ruse involving chariots, goddess impersonators and paid heralds to whip up the crowds along the procession route.

Herodotus thought the stunt an appalling affront to a sophisticated constituency. Nonetheless, his account suggests that both the art of campaign management and the importance of good advance work were recognized several millennia before anybody had the sense to consolidate these services and make a living rendering them.

Modern history generally accords that distinction to Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, husband-and-wife owners of the San Francisco-based Campaigns, Inc., who in 1933 launched the country's first public-relations firm devoted exclusively to politics. It was a development that would be understood as significant only in retrospect.

Yet for the better part of 25 years spanning the Great Depression, World War II and the dawn of the television age, the staunchly Republican husband-and-wife team had, as author Carey McWilliams first wrote in 1949, "more direct influence on California's legislation ... than any combination of politicians or of special-interest groups, including the entire trade union movement."

During that period, the firm handled 75 campaigns, most of them initiatives and most of those as strategists for the "no" side. Among its long string of successes were campaigns against the single tax, assorted bond issues, legislative reapportionment, and several dubious pension plans, including the infamous "Ham 'n Eggs Every Thursday" scheme. The firm also was responsible for initiative campaigns that raised teacher salaries, approved the state Employees Retirement System Act and repealed the railroad "full crew" law.

A client engaging Campaigns Inc. immediately gained the advantage of a wide network of contacts, alliances and patronage associated with the firm's other enterprises – the Clem Whitaker Advertising Agency, Whitaker-Baxter Public Relations and the California Feature Service, an editorial and news syndicate that pumped pre-packaged political copy, including cartoons and commentary, to newspapers up and down the state.

Painstaking preparation became a hallmark o all Whitaker-Baxter campaigns and eventuall standard practice in American politics.

The couple married in 1938, but their professional collaboration began five years earlier with a successful battle against Pacific Gas & Electric to secure passage of the Central Valley Water Project. Clem, the son of a Baptist minister who began his career as a Sacramento reporter, was already dabbling in lobbying and politics. Leone,

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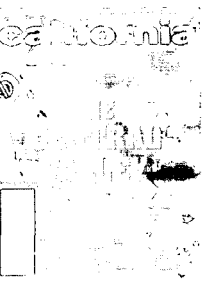

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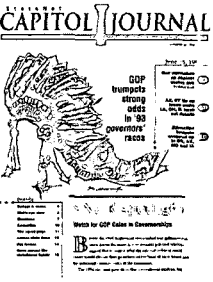

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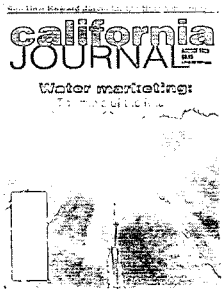

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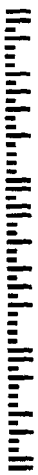

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some years his junior, also had come to politics by way of journalism and was head of the Redding Chamber of Commerce. Upon losing, PG&E put Whitaker and Baxter on permanent retainer.

In 1934, they were hired by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats to help defeat Upton Sinclair, the Socialist author and reformer who had captured the Democratic Party's nomination for governor. The couple spent days in seclusion poring over Sinclair's writings, extracting out-of-context quotations and policy prescriptions to portray him in the worst possible light.

The anti-Sinclair message was carried in a carefully timed blitz of pamphlets, direct mail, print and billboard ads, planted news stories and commentary, radio spots and movie trailers. It was a smear campaign the couple would later acknowledge as something less than their proudest moment, particularly since Sinclair was a Whitaker family friend. But the painstaking preparation, including simulation of the opponent's campaign and the coordination of mass media became hallmarks of all future Whitaker-Baxter campaigns and eventually standard practice in American politics.

In 1942, Whitaker and Baxter managed Earl Warren's first gubernatorial run. Three years later they mobilized California doctors and insurance companies to defeat his proposal for compulsory health insurance. That effort finally brought the couple to the national stage in 1949 when the American Medical Association hired them to defeat President Harry Truman's version of universal health insurance.

By the late 1940s they became as talented at self-promotion as they had been in promoting others. Now luminaries in national PR circles and widely sought as speakers, Whitaker and Baxter distilled the strategies and gimmicks honed over decades into a snappy 10-point formula for success. Their most important admonitions: "You can't fight something with nothing," and "Insist on full control of the campaign finances."

As usual, journalists on the East Coast got the California politics wrong and missed the bigger picture entirely. Writing in *Harper's* magazine in July 1959, a decade after McWilliams had first chronicled the Whitaker and Baxter phenomenon and a year after the couple sold the firm to Clem's son and two junior partners, Irwin Ross lavishly praised the colorful duo for a series of 1958 California campaigns that were probably among their least distinguished. Ross then offered the following prognostication:

"Outside of California, the Whitaker and Baxter type of operation has not emerged – nor does it seem likely to," he wrote. "To hire a PR firm to manage an entire campaign would involve an unthinkable degree of abdication for a self-respecting political leader."

Pete Wilson

In two terms as governor, Wilson, whose presidential ambitions burned bright, emerged accomplished on many fronts – but badly miscalculated the potential for backlash against his anti-immigrant campaigns.

By A.G. Block

Few elected officials in this century assembled as diverse a political career as Peter Barton Wilson, 36th governor of California. After winning a seat in the Assembly in 1966, Wilson subsequently was elected mayor of San Diego (1971, 1975, 1979), to the United States Senate (1982, 1988) and as the state's chief executive (1990, 1994). During that time, he suffered only one significant defeat – fourth place in the 1978 Republi-

Pete Wilson, 1933-
Assemblyman (1966-1971), mayor, San Diego (1971-1983)
U.S. senator (1983-90), governor (1990-1998)

Continued on page 62

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Tom Bradley continued from page 17

Yorty — in the wake of a racially tinged fear campaign waged by the conservative mayor. In a 1973 rematch, Bradley ousted the so-called "Maverick Mayor," putting together an ethnically and economically diverse alliance to win election in a city that was only 15 percent black.

It was Bradley who brought the triumphal 1984 Summer Olympic Games to Los Angeles. His insistence on a funding plan that put financial responsibility into the hands of the private sector "probably saved the Olympic games for years to come," said Los Angeles City Council President John Ferraro. In 1982, Democrat Bradley came within 53,000 votes of becoming the nation's first elected black governor, losing narrowly to the Republican gubernatorial candidate, then-Attorney General George Deukmejian. Bradley challenged Deukmejian again in 1986 but lost by a wide margin.

During the summer of 1984, Bradley broke another political barrier by becoming, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, the first black ever interviewed for the vice presidential nomination by Walter Mondale, the Democratic Party's standard-bearer. However, Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro of New York ultimately got the nod. As one top Democrat noted, "A white woman was looked upon as less of a threat to the American populace than a black male who happened to be mayor of Los Angeles."

In 1992 the mayor, who prided himself on bringing racial harmony to Los Angeles, found himself heading a city again seared by urban unrest, which erupted after four white police officers were acquitted of beating black motorist Rodney King. Bradley was taken by surprise by the deadly violence — an indication, his critics insisted, of just how out of touch he'd become with the problems of the poor and minorities he once championed. On the heels of the riots, Bradley decided against a run for a sixth term as mayor.

But the King beating also created a climate for reform of the Los Angeles Police Department — an institution in which Bradley himself had battled racism as a black cop.

Tom Bradley died last year at the age of 80. An atypically taciturn politician, he was rendered virtually speechless for the last two years of his life, the victim of a debilitating stroke.

Bradley was a pioneering black political figure, who knew that a successful leader can and must reach out beyond ethnicity to win and wield power.

At his funeral, Bradley's successor in the mayor's office, Republican Richard Riordan, asked current and former City Hall employees who served during Bradley's tenure to stand. And dozens did — black, white, Latino and Asian.

Riordan, who had won election by forging his own coalition of Latinos, Jews, and San Fernando Valley voters, viewed the scene and observed: "That is beautiful."

There, arrayed in Los Angeles' First A.M.E. Church, a prestigious African-American congregation established more than 125 years ago, was a mosaic of the New California. It affirmed a reality recognized early by a pioneering black political figure, who knew that a successful leader can and must reach out beyond ethnicity to win and wield power.

Pat Brown continued from page 21

state, promoting the needed $1.75-billion bond issue. The ballot measure barely passed, by 3.4 percent.

It's the largest state water project in America. Two out of three Californians drink from it. The 444-mile California Aqueduct is the nation's longest. There are 23 dams, including the huge Oroville Dam that has saved the Sacramento Valley from countless deadly floods.

During his two terms, Brown also built 1,000 miles of freeway and expanded the university system. He may have received too much credit for higher education, which already was world-class and very affordable. But he did develop a higher education master plan and added three UC and six state college campuses. Political critics saw Brown as a bumbler, if not a buffoon. He failed to deliver California's delegation to Adlai Stevenson at the 1960 Democratic convention, as promised.

There was little scripted about the man. "This is the worst disaster since I was elected governor," he inarticulately told reporters while touring a catastrophic North Coast flood.

He was ridiculed as a vacillating "tower of jelly" after heeding the plea of his son Jerry—the future governor—and briefly sparing the life of "Red Light Bandit" Caryl Chessman, a condemned kidnapper-rapist. The governor

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ultimately sent Chessman to the gas chamber, but his popularity had plummeted. Brown strongly opposed capital punishment; still, he enforced the law by allowing the execution of 42 people.

In his second term, Brown fought for and won passage of an historic act barring racial discrimination in housing. This was brave for the times, but it boomeranged politically. The next year, 70 percent of the electorate repealed the new civil rights law over Brown's tenacious opposition. Courts later overturned the repealer, but that only further riled the voters.

Pat Brown stumping with Robert Kennedy. left. Photo: The Bancroft Library

"People were tired of me," Brown later conceded. Blacks had rioted in Watts and students were protesting at Berkeley. He had been in public office 23 years, also as a San Francisco district attorney and state attorney general. He had squashed two political giants in gubernatorial races, Sen. William F. Knowland and Richard M. Nixon. But in 1966, seeking a third term, the career pol was clobbered by a "citizen politician," Ronald Reagan.

Pat Brown – builder and bungler. California needs more like him.

Willie Brown Jr. continued from page 22

into a battle; he knew when to project a personal authority that on paper he did not possess.

He first came into the public eye in May 1961 by leading a picket-line at the whites-only Forest Hills housing development in San Francisco. Brown's picket-line caught the imagination of liberals like Dianne Berman (who went on to a legendary political career as Dianne Feinstein). Soon, civil rights activists shut down the city's most elite (and segregated) hotels, and it was lawyer Willie Brown who negotiated a settlement with the hotel owners and the mayor. Brown had no client in the fight — none — but seized the authority to negotiate a deal.

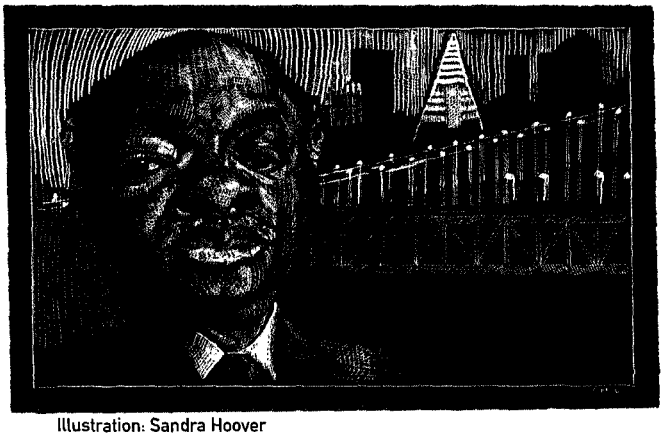

Illustration: Sandra Hoover

That was just the beginning of his flair for the dramatic — and melodramatic. He once thrust his hand into Governor Ronald Reagan's jelly-bean jar, and dared his white aides to eat out of it. Brown was at the side of Robert Kennedy during the tumultuous 1968 presidential campaign. Brown hectored the 1972 Democratic National Convention to "Give me back my delegation!" And Brown threw lavish waterfront parties for thousands of guests. His own fund-raisers were the hottest tickets in politics, featuring entertainers like Ray Charles. As mayor, Brown poked fun at himself standing on stage at Beach Blanket Babylon, robed in royal ermine trim. Brown is truly the last great political showman of the 20th century.

Brown always has had that California sense of *who-you-know* is more important than where you were born. Brown was networking before the cliché was coined. At San Francisco State, he met a white basketball jock, John Burton, and they became best friends. Not long after, Brown met John Burton's older brother, Phillip Burton, who was building a liberal political machine challenging the entrenched Italian-Irish Democratic organization that dominated the city. In 1964, Brown became Phillip Burton's candidate to unseat Assemblyman Ed Gaffney in a Democratic primary. Brown dumped Gaffney, and then won the general election. He held the seat for 30 years.

Fitting California's self-image, Brown has constantly remade himself. He opposed Speaker Jesse Unruh, but then found a way to earn his way back into Unruh's good graces. Brown was Speaker Bob Moretti's sharpest lieutenant, but fell into political exile in 1974 when Brown was ignominiously defeated in his first effort at getting elected Speaker. The new speaker, Leo McCarthy, punished Brown badly, but Brown re-emerged in the Democratic panic following the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978.

It seems so improbable now, but Brown was the Repub-

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licans' favorite Democrat in the late 1970s. As a committee chairman, Brown ruthlessly destroyed Democratic tax bills; Republicans united behind Brown to elect him speaker in 1980. Indeed, Brown was elected speaker with more Republican than Democratic votes, a fact soon lost in the bad blood that followed.

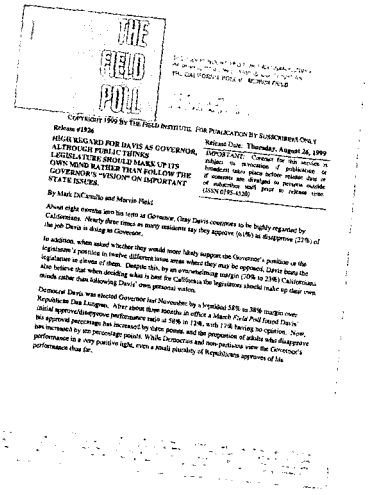
The story of Brown as speaker of the state Assembly is as well-known in political circles as it is controversial. He was speaker for nearly 15 years, longer than anyone has ever held the job or likely will again. Brown was speaker during the tenure of three governors — Jerry Brown, George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson. Brown wielded his power sometimes ruthlessly and sometimes loosely. He punished his enemies, and sometimes punished his friends as well. He cut deals on taxes and school funding; he presided over the largest prison building program in human history, and he allowed the restoration of the death penalty. Brown enabled his Democratic colleagues to engineer far-reaching environmental protection laws, and he personally helped bring down South African apartheid by convincing Deukmejian to sign a divestment bill. At home, Brown did what he could in a losing battle to protect affirmative action and welfare benefits for the poor.

California historians and political scientists will long debate the wisdom of the choices Californians made in the second-half of the 20th century. But wherever they look, this will be certain: they'll find Willie Brown standing in the center of those choices.

Mervin Field continued from page 29

Field has tracked voter preferences in every statewide election since 1948 and has compiled a stunning record. In 40 of the 44 races, the candidate leading in the final pre-election Field Poll went on to win. And the difference between the final poll and the winning vote margin has averaged a meager 2.3 percent.

Over the past half-century, Field and his poll have defined California politics; he has been the man who explained Californians to one another and to the nation. His nearly 2,000 reports have been carried by newspapers and television stations across the state. And while his candidate polls in key contests attract the heaviest media attention, more than half of his polling reports have dealt with public policy issues that affected the lives of Californians and shaped the actions of their legislators. He defined how Californians felt about issues from hot-button topics like abortion and the death penalty, to health care, education, the environment, and immigration. In the national media, the myth grew that if you want to see America tomorrow, look at California today. And Field became the lens through which most of the nation viewed California.


THE FIELD POLL

Not surprisingly, his power and influence in state politics grew steadily over the years. When a 1961 Field Poll showed Pat Brown trailing Richard Nixon by 18 points, a Brown aide called to ask, "Is it all over for Pat?" Field, shaken that a single poll could have such a profound impact, suggested the governor would be ill-advised to make any decision based on a single poll. When a later poll showed Brown pulling ahead, a furious Nixon attacked Field. By the mid-'60s, an adverse showing in a Field Poll could dry up a candidate's fundraising. And a major Republican consultant recently complained that it is still true today.

By the mid-'70s, political reporters around the state were doing major stories asserting that Field was one of the most powerful forces in state politics and asking, "Are his polls too influential?" In 1984, *The San Jose Mercury News* called Field "the most cited source in the world on what 24 million Californians think, vote, love, hate, fear, hope, eat, drink, and smoke." And, at a crucial point in the 1986 elections, *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters argued, "At this point in the campaign season, Field may be the most powerful figure in the state."

Few would have disagreed with Walters. Then, as now, Field's work is regarded by journalists, politicians, consultants, and campaign mangers as the most reliable and important single measure in the state. Paul Maslin, who did Gray Davis' polling in 1998, says the Field Poll has the power to move voters in ways no other polls can.

But Field's impact goes well beyond politics. A meticulous methodologist who fell in love with polling when he met George Gallup as a teenager in New Jersey, Field has been lauded by his colleagues as a major force in the popular acceptance of polling in America. An autodidact who never finished college, his data is deposited at the University of California, Berkeley, to be used for teaching and research, and his Field Institute works with college campuses across the state.

He turns aside entreaties to do private polling and keeps a discreet distance from powerful political figures, modestly shrugging off his own fame by saying his polls are merely snapshots in time. Snapshots they may be, but it can be argued that Field is the Ansel Adams of California politics, capturing critical political moments with direct honesty and sharp-edged clarity.

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Carey McWilliams continued from page 33

chief of the Division of Immigration and Housing, which had responsibility for enforcing the state labor camp act. "Factories in the Field" came out a few months later, coinciding with publication of "The Grapes of Wrath," John Steinbeck's searing novel of Dust Bowl migrants. Big agriculture saw a conspiratorial link in the books — McWilliams was described in a pamphlet of the Associated Farmers as "Agricultural Pest No. 1 in California, outranking pear blight and boll weevil." But public interest promoted a federal investigation led by an old progressive, U.S. Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, that produced a damning report on farm labor conditions. By the time La Follette's report appeared, however, America was absorbed with World War II. The conditions described in "Factories in the Field" went unaddressed until the advent of Cesar Chavez, an admirer of McWilliams.

McWilliams loved California. He aimed the spotlight of social criticism at its imperfections in hope that Californians would be aroused to correct them.

When Governor Earl Warren succeeded Olson, he fired McWilliams, freeing him to explore other neglected social issues. McWilliams promptly took aim at the relocation and internment of Japanese-Americans promoted by Warren, an action now recognized as shameful but then widely popular, even with the Left. Defying wartime demagoguery, McWilliams wrote "Prejudice" which examined the roots of intolerance toward Japanese-Americans. It was one of four McWilliams books in the 1940s about minorities. "Brothers Under the Skin," published just before the notorious 1943 anti-Mexican "zoot suit" riots in Los Angeles, made an early case for affirmative action. "A Mask for Privilege" examined anti-Semitism. "North from Mexico" was far ahead of its time in anticipating the immigration that has given California its present Latino coloration.

During this productive period, McWilliams also found time to write two seminal books: "Southern California: An Island on the Land" (1946) and "California: The Great Exception" (1949). The first examined McWilliams' favorite region with affection and lucidity and shed harsh light on the treatment of Native Americans and Mexicans. The second explained California exceptionalism with an insight worthy of Frederick Jackson Turner, the trailblazing historian of the American frontier. Both books and "Factories in the Field" remain in print and have inspired subsequent writers, including this one.

McWilliams loved California. He aimed the spotlight of social criticism at its imperfections in hope that Californians would be aroused to correct them. The final passage of "California: The Great Exception" quotes the inscription on the state treasurer's building — "Bring Me Men to Match My Mountains" — and calls upon men and women to acquire knowledge and display "the same generous open-handedness with which its magic mountains have showered benefits on those lucky people, the Californians."

Even luckier, it might be said, for having had McWilliams in our midst.

Harvey Milk continued from page 34

but nevertheless demonstrated a growing cross-community appeal by garnering the most votes among a citywide field of candidates. He did so, in part, thanks to support from several labor organizations, which were hesitant at first about backing an openly gay candidate. But Milk got past the blue-collar homophobia by getting gay bars to participate in an ongoing labor boycott of Coors beer and by displaying a charisma that set many at ease.

"A lot of our guys think gays are little leprechauns tiptoeing to florist shops," union boss George Evankovich said in "The Mayor of Castro Street", a Milk biography. "But Harvey can sit on a steel beam and talk to some ironworker who is a mean 'sonuvabitch' and probably beats his wife when he has a few too many beers, but who would sit there and talk to Harvey like they knew each other for years."

Milk also displayed a characteristic brashness when he bucked San Francisco's two powerful Democratic machines and ran in a 1976 special election to fill a vacant state Assembly seat. Then-Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy had already worked out a gentleman's agreement with the Willie Brown/Phil Burton/George Moscone clique to let McCarthy's aide, Art Agnos, take the seat, but that didn't stop Milk from pursuing it. Again, Milk lost, but by only 3,000 votes.

Finally, in 1977, Milk won a seat on the Board of Supervisors in decisive fashion. He had every intention of running for mayor someday, were it not for a police-officer-turned-fireman-turned-supervisor by the name of Dan White.

On Nov. 27, 1978, a little more than a year after his election, Milk and Mayor George Moscone were gunned

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down in cold blood by the disgruntled White, who sought revenge against the two liberal politicians for preventing him from regaining his seat on the board. White was later convicted of manslaughter for both murders.

In the brief time he held office, Milk fought for affordable housing, spearheaded a local gay rights ordinance and led a successful opposition campaign to the Briggs initiative, a statewide ballot measure attempting to ban homosexual teachers from public schools.

Milk's lasting accomplishment, however, was to galvanize the gay rights movement and bestow upon it a fervor it had lacked.

"It's not about personal gain, not about ego, not about power," Milk wrote in his will shortly after his election. "It's about giving those young people out there in the Altoona, Pennsylvanias, hope. You gotta give them hope."

Harvey Milk and supporters march for gay rights. Photo: Daniel Nicoletta

William Parker continued from page 39

to describe the men — and in thos e days, it was only white men — who stood between anarchy and law and order. And under Parker, who took over the LAPD in 1950 and ran it until his death in 1966, that line toughened, calcified and ultimately cracked.

Parker had two missions in mind when he took over the LAPD. He wanted the city's police to protect its citizens, but he wanted them to do so without getting too close. It's easy to see why, given the scandals that had rocked the LAPD earlier in the century — police extracting bribes, protecting prostitution and gambling at the direction of Los Angeles' venal mayor, Frank Shaw — that Parker wanted his officers to have some distance. The trick was how to pull them out of the gutter while still having them patrol it.

For Parker, the answer was largely about the car. Police were to respond to calls, arrest the bad guys and get back to the station. Limit contact, and you limit opportunities for corruption.

So successful was that program that Los Angeles became the nation's most emulated police force, its officers the model of modern police professionalism. In part, too, that was because of Parker's assiduous courting of favorable publicity – a talent that Lou Cannon, in his sweeping LAPD history, "Official Negligence", says was rivaled in law enforcement circles only by J. Edgar Hoover. Parker's LAPD, in reality and on the screen, was "Dragnet" — just the facts, ma'am.

But lurking beneath the chief's spit-and-polish program were treacherous undercurrents. Parker was a racist and a drunk, prone to using the police department to target political enemies along with criminals. The same police force that followed his lead in turning down so much as a free cup of coffee also emulated his tolerance of bigotry and his willingness to look away when police beat a suspect.

Parker's LAPD was "Dragnet"; it also was "LA Confidential."

By 1965, the nation's seething racial discontent was particularly acute in Los Angeles, in no small part because of Parker's police department. A traffic stop in Watts escalated to pushing, shoving, then rock throwing and finally a riot. Parker and his command staff seemed paralyzed in the early hours. It took deputies such as Tom Reddin and Ed Davis (both of whom would later serve as chief) to snap the department out of its torpor and ultimately quell the unrest.

Parker never recovered. His health already was shaky, and he was dead within a year. Today, more than 30 years later, some LAPD veterans can still recall where they were when they heard the news of Parker's passing. His body lay in state at City Hall for two days. The line stretched out the building and around the block. As Davis would later joke, some came to pay their respects, others to be sure the old man really was dead.

The same police force that followed his lead in turning down so much as a free cup of coffee also emulated his tolerance of bigotry and his willingness to look away when police beat a suspect.

For a time, the LAPD moved away from Parker's image. Reddin and then Davis tried to recast its policing style into a more community-oriented image, what would

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later become nationally embraced as "community-based policing." They were marginally successful, but much of what they tried to do was undone in the 1980s, when they were succeeded by Parker's most passionate champion and most notable heir, Daryl Gates.

As a young man, Gates had served as Parker's driver. As chief, he ran the department in his idol's tradition — tough, uncompromising, uncorruptible and aloof.

On April 29, 1992, he also inherited his predecessor's fate: riots. Worse than Watts, the 1992 riots killed scores and spread throughout the city. They crippled morale in a police department already battered by the trial that gave the riots their impetus — the assault cases against the officers who brutalized Rodney G. King. And ultimately, they cost Gates his job, just as the eerily similar events of 1965 had cost Parker his life.

A. Alan Post continued from page 40

During World War II, Ensign Post served with Navy intelligence.

By 1946, having made a brief stop in Utah, Post was ready to return to his native California. That year, he became a permanent member of the Legislative Audit Bureau. The office had been conceived in the late 1930s, a period marked by increasing hostility between the legislative and executive branches. In 1941 a bill passed to create an independent legislative fiscal office, but it was vetoed by then-Democratic Governor Culbert Olson. The Legislature responded by creating a Legislative Budget Committee with a staff responsible only to the Legislature. Its purpose was, according to an article in *The Sacramento Bee*, "to provide a year-round agency of the two legislative houses to keep a close eye on all details of public finance and eliminate hit-or-miss action, so far as possible, in judging the proposed state taxes and appropriations."

The committee hired a legislative auditor, Rolland Vandegrift, and a small staff. Until 1951, when then-Governor Earl Warren signed a bill similar to the one Olson had vetoed, the office was maintained by renewing the joint legislative rule that had created it. In 1957, the legislative auditor became the legislative analyst.

Vandegrift, who was Post's predecessor, probably established in practice the role of the analyst. As was noted in another *Bee* story at the time, Vandegrift "seldom hesitated to cross swords with departments and even state administrations on questions of spending policy."

When Vandegrift died of cancer in 1949, Post, then 35, was appointed acting auditor. The following year, he was named permanently to the post. In that year, the state budget was $500 million and the state population was about 7 million. When he retired in 1977, the budget had grown to $15.2 billion and the population exceeded 20 million.

Throughout the years, the staple product of the office has been a thorough, written analysis of the governor's annual budget. In the first few years, the analyst's report on the budget was completed in a few pages. By 1977, the year Post retired, the report exceeded 1,500 pages.

In addition to the budget analysis, the office regularly assisted legislative committees with their policy deliberations, and Post and his staff frequently appeared before the Senate Finance and the Assembly Ways and Means committees to comment on the fiscal effect of legislation pending before each panel.

During his tenure, Post somehow found time to develop his artistic skills by studying at the Chouinard Institute. Commenting on his painting, he once said, "I really am a very dedicated painter...it's not a hobby so much. It's a double life." As recently as 1998, Post and his wife, Helen, a sculptor, had a double showing of their works at a Sacramento gallery.

In an interview, Post reflected: "I've desperately tried to keep above suspicion of any kind. To be honest and ... say it as you see it."

During his nearly 30 years as chief fiscal analyst, Post maintained the a high level of integrity and, according to a *San Francisco Chronicle* editorial on Post's retirement, "forced legislators to be more responsive and responsible...That we owe him a debt of gratitude is unquestioned."

Since he stepped down more than 20 years ago, Post has remained active as a volunteer, serving on numerous public commissions and committees. "The taxpayers have paid to give me an absolutely marvelous education down through the years," he says "and I feel obligated to give them something back."

Alan Post has been an outstanding investment for the people of California.

Edward Roybal continued from page 42

ally see in person their elected representatives. At the time, Ed Roybal was still a Los Angeles city councilman. He had garnered the respect and admiration of a community, and for a young man enthralled with politics, shaking Roybal's hand as his car stopped on the streets of East Los Angeles was an impression that lasted a lifetime.

Roybal had emerged as a community leader and hero as a local health educator and co-founder of the Commu-

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nity Service Organization in the 1940s. It served as a training ground for many of us in the late 1960s. CSO was then run by Tony Rios who – along with Fred Ross Sr., Cesar Chavez, Ed Roybal and others – created it as a grass-roots consumer and civil-rights advocacy program for Latinos.

Roybal's first election in 1947 was a controversial defeat. It led, however, to a very successful voter-registration drive that culminated in his election to the Los Angeles City Council in 1949. At the time, although Roybal was a city councilman who had just returned from war, he could not purchase a home in a suburb of Los Angeles because of his Mexican heritage.

Those lessons framed a historic career.

On the City Council, Roybal championed the rights of the oppressed and fought against police brutality and government harassment. Roybal's victory was a turning point for a community long ignored and paved the way in 1962 for his election to the U.S. House of Representatives as the first Latino from California since Romualdo Pacheco in 1879, who also served as governor for a short time at the dawn of California's statehood.

Ed Roybal was born on February 10, 1916, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. At the age of 6, his family moved to the Boyle Heights *barrio* of Los Angeles where he attended public schools. He attended UCLA and studied law at Southwestern University in Los Angeles. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Army.

His tenure in Congress was always about representing the poor and the Latino community. His first major victory was the establishment of a bilingual program in 1967. Founded with the support of then-President Lyndon Johnson, the program draws controversy today. At the time, however, it had a magical impact on Latino and Asian students in California, if not across the nation. Roybal also fought for the rights of Vietnam veterans and legislation to outlaw age discrimination.

In 1976, Roybal became one of the founding members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus. He also founded NALEO, the first national organization of Latino elected officials, and the Congressional Hispanic Institute. He was the first to urge appropriation of money for AIDS, which resulted in the naming in his honor of the campus of the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta.

His efforts in fighting for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, expanding rural mental-health care programs, and renewing legislation to provide mental services for Alzheimer's patients all point to a man committed to health care and human rights.

Ed and Lucille Roybal epitomized the political couple who had fought the hard fights and mad history with their compassion and vision.

Roybal decided not to seek re-election in 1992, and his daughter – Lucille Roybal-Allard – was elected to replace him in the House.

Today, Roybal lives with his wife of 59 years, Lucille, in Pasadena. They both are a testament to a colorful, cultured and elegant past that resonates today within the Latino community. I still remember community events where Ed and Lucille Roybal would take to the dance floor to the sounds of one of their favorite Mexican ballads, *"Volver, Volver,"* whose words echo of true love always returning to each other's arms.

As they danced — Ed in his fine pressed suit and Lucille in one of her favorite dresses — they epitomized the political couple who fought the hard fights and made history with their compassion and vision.

Pete Schabarum continued from page 44

The measure applied as well to statewide elected officials, but its focus was on the Legislature, particularly on long-reigning Assembly Speaker Willie L. Brown Jr., a favorite GOP campaign target who had boasted with considerable accuracy that he was the "ayatollah" of the Legislature.

The first major effect of Proposition 140 occurred in 1996 when the initial wave of Assembly members were forced to leave. By the 1999 session, all of the veteran members of the Senate were gone, too. Every two years, roughly a third of the Assembly's 80 members are forced to leave and a quarter of the 40 senators.

The impact is difficult to measure, but there's no question it has been profound. Not only did the Legislature lose the institutional memory and experience of its veteran members, many of the Legislature's most knowledgeable senior staff members left, too. This was in part a result of the budget cuts forced on the Legislature by Proposition 140, but also because of the job insecurity and turmoil created by the constant turnover in lawmakers.

Proposition 140 certainly has achieved one goal of Schabarum and his fellow reformers, who emerged from the Proposition 13 tax-cutting movement of the 1970s: to prevent leaders from amassing power through longevity in office. But it did not necessarily improve the product of the Legislature, make lawmakers more responsive to the public or end the era of professional politicians, as some advocates claimed would happen. As for special interests, many believe lobbyists are more influential than ever. Legislative fundraising has become a year-round affair and lawmakers are as brazen as ever in soliciting contributions from the lobbyist corps.

For all that, polls indicate Proposition 140 remains popular with voters.

Schabarum, now 70, is retired from public life and living in his Southern California desert home. Born in Los

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Angeles, Schabarum became a land developer after graduating from Berkeley in 1951 and wrapping up his pro football career. Living in Covina, he won election to the Assembly in 1966. In his third term, Schabarum was picked by then-Governor Ronald Reagan to fill a vacancy on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors. Schabarum devoted his energy to reducing county government and farming out a number of county services to private contractors.

After 1990, he took his term limits crusade nationally. Today, 18 states have term-limits laws. Schabarum also went after members of Congress and 14 states approved congressional term limits in 1992. However, they were nullified by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Pete Schabarum

Nine years later, Schabarum says he is disappointed in some aspects of how the measure has turned out. One is the extent to which Assembly members continue their careers in the Senate and even, in some cases, go back to run for the Assembly after becoming termed out in the Senate.

"These musical chairs are unfortunate," he said. "But one thing these folks are good at is survival...We hoped it would become more of a citizen Legislature where people would come in for two or three terms and move out."

But Schabarum said the turnover caused by term limits has made room for the election of record numbers of women and minorities to the Legislature – something that many Democrats who opposed Proposition 140 "would have wanted to happen."

R. Gordon Sproul continued from page 46

Photo: The Bancroft Library

public university that would not only educate California's leaders but involve itself productively in the economic and social life of the state. Sproul was a political realist, however, who tempered his aspirations for UC with a keen sense of the possible. As comptroller, he learned the political ropes firsthand defending the university's budget requests before the Legislature. His commanding voice, photographic memory and political deftness made him an immediate success in the halls of Sacramento and beyond.

Sproul needed these skills and more when the UC Regents chose him to head the system in 1930. The nation was plunging into the Depression, and California was hard hit. Sproul traveled constantly to garner the financial and political support of alumni, farmers, community groups and business interests.

In 1933, after agreeing to draconian budget cuts, the university was threatened with a further $2 million reduction proposed by the Assembly Ways and Means Committee. Sproul broadcast a radio plea that the university be exempted from this additional cut. His eloquence stimulated an outpouring of letters and telegrams to the Legislature, many of them prompted by students who wrote home to their parents. The university was spared.

Despite the hard times, demand for higher education was growing, and many legislators were inclined to establish more four-year colleges, or to expand existing community colleges into four-year institutions. Sproul's position was both sensible and self-interested.

He persuaded the Legislature to mandate a study of California higher education that had two important outcomes—a check on the regional college movement and establishment of the State Council for Educational Planning and Coordination, one of the first attempts in California history to develop strategies for the orderly growth of the state's colleges and universities.

Even before becoming president, Sproul recognized that the center of the state's political gravity would ultimately shift to the south, and that the Southern Branch must grow into a full-fledged UC campus to meet the needs of the burgeoning Los Angeles region. He enthusiastically supported the development of UCLA.

By the time he left office in 1958, UCLA was a distinguished university recognized worldwide for the excellence of its programs. And the University of California, with six campuses from Davis to San Diego, was poised for the amazing expansion of the 1960s, when UC added three more campuses and began educating the Baby Boom generation.

Sproul was not trained as an academic and in that sense differed from most university presidents. But he believed absolutely in the ideal of the land-grant university involved in service to society, and he articulated it brilliantly. He inherited a university that, even in 1930, was unmatched in the variety of its academic programs, the quality and relevance of its research on California's economy, and its commitment to serve the needs of a state in the throes of major economic transition. But it took his enormous gifts as a leader to rally Californians to secure the financial and political support that UC needed to become a world-renowned multi-campus system.

He was courted by politicians and business people, offered distinguished academic positions and lucrative non-academic jobs, urged to run for governor, senator, even president of the United States. He would have none of

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it. He was president of the University of California, and that was all he wanted.

In a tribute honoring Sproul's 25th anniversary in office, a faculty member summed it up: "Doubtless God could have made a better president, but doubtless God never did."

Pete Wilson continued from page 53

can primary for governor.

Despite that nearly flawless performance at the polls, Wilson left a mixed legacy.

In many ways, Wilson was a pioneer. As mayor of San Diego, he spearheaded efforts to stop the chaotic rush toward development by implementing "managed growth"; he is generally credited with preventing sprawl in San Diego and for revitalizing the city's central core. As a lawmaker, he dismayed conservatives in his own party, both in Congress and in Sacramento, by reminding Republicans that it was good public policy to spend on preventive programs in health care and education. He also demonstrated that a Republican could be sympathetic to the environment and not be mowed down in a GOP primary.

Pete Wilson early in his political career.

But it was as governor that Wilson left his most indelible impact on California. A native of Illinois, a graduate of Yale and Berkeley and an officer in the U.S. Marine Corps, Wilson was both the right governor at the right moment in California history, and the wrong politician for his era.

Wilson inherited a state where both its economy and its citizenry had changed thanks to decreased defense spending and increased immigration — both legal and illegal. Wilson handled the economic transition superbly. But he botched his stewardship of the state's social fabric with hard-edged campaigns on issues such as immigration and affirmative action that, however correct on the merits, did nothing to unify California's multi-ethnic population. In a broad sense, Wilson's impact was defined by two events: his efforts to cope with the recession that hammered California during the early 1990s, and his divisive 1994 campaign to pass Proposition 187 — the initiative that denied benefits to illegal immigrants.

When Wilson became governor, he was handed a $14 billion state budget deficit and a tattered reputation in the business community. Wilson stepped into the breech with personal and political traits ideally suited to deal with the precarious situation – unflagging confidence, tenacity and the ethic of a workaholic. He coupled a wonkish interest in the minutiae of government finance with a pragmatic instinct for what he could extract from a Democratic Legislature. Nor was he dogmatically strapped to any particular philosophy, which allowed him to cast an unsparing eye on a breadth of options.

More significant, Wilson had the courage to make tough choices. For instance, although a huge 1991 tax increase earned him the wrath of conservative Republicans, he focused on a recovery plan he could negotiate with Democrats. He also convinced business to keep jobs in the state by re-investing in California and by restoring its faith in government as partner rather than adversary.

As a result, Wilson left the state in far better shape than he found it, and he engineered substantial policy achievements: class-size reduction, health care for children of working poor, immunization programs for poor children, workers compensation reform, statewide student testing, a mentoring program for youth and reform of the Endangered Species Act, to name but a few.

But a different Pete Wilson emerged during the re-election campaign of 1994. As the campaign began, Wilson trailed Democratic Treasurer Kathleen Brown by a wide margin in most polls. But Brown stumbled and Wilson blew her out of the water long before Election Day. In so doing, Wilson refined the art of statewide campaigning by overwhelming everything with money, and staying focused on an election agenda.

In 1994, that agenda centered on immigration, which shifted the focus from an issue that could harm Wilson — voter dissatisfaction — to one with power to move high-propensity voters in his direction — the border. His vehicle: Proposition 187. The merits of 187 were obliterated by the tenor of the crusades both for and against it, epitomized by a Wilson-sponsored ad showing illegals swarming across the border. A voice-over intoned, "They keep coming." Even Wilson's friends believed the campaign had demonized an entire group of people. Wilson blamed initiative opponents for distorting his message, but lingering distaste over the campaign, especially among Latinos, severely damaged the Republican Party during elections in 1996 and 1998.

Meanwhile, in 1995 Wilson tried to parlay his re-election success into a bid for the presidency, but his effort foundered and he was forced to withdraw before a single primary vote had been cast.

The full measure of Pete Wilson's legacy will take years to unfold. In the early years as governor, he had many accomplishments. But for the moment, he likely will be remembered not for the light he shed on California's economy but for the darkness he brought to its politics.

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California and America: An Odyssey

by Michael Barone

In 1900 California was not a leader in national politics. Only the 21st state in population and looking out over the Pacific at America's newly acquired Pacific Empire, it was preoccupied by local concerns, such as obtaining a Japanese Exclusion Act to match the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. President Theodore Roosevelt, respectful of Japan's military power, instead negotiated the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-08, limiting Japanese immigration to family reunification. Then, with the election of Governor Hiram Johnson in 1910, California became a nationally significant innovator. It was one of the first states with primary elections (widely copied), presidential primaries (less widely copied but not important until 1952), initiative and referendum (adopted by one-third of the states), and cross-filing (adopted nowhere else and abolished in 1959). California helped transform elections from contests between political organizations into plebiscites, with no intermediaries between voters and officeholders until the rise of political consultants -- another California innovation — in the 1930s.

> But in the 1990s California has become less typical, less the leader and more the exotic state it was at the beginning of the century.

During the Depression, California's plebiscitary politics produced novel and exotic policy proposals. Upton Sinclair's 1934 campaign to "End Poverty in California" lost at the polls but helped persuade Franklin Roosevelt to push Social Security in 1935. The Townsend plan and the "Ham 'n Eggs" proposal helped elect liberal Culbert Olson governor in 1938. Those proposals soon faded from view, and Olson lost to Earl Warren in 1942, but several of Olson's state Supreme Court justices became national leaders in liberalizing tort law, helping to create today's plaintiff negligence and product liability bar.

World War II and the unexpected postwar boom brought millions of Americans to California, which became the first major state where suburbs helped the political balance. They were the political base for nationally significant politicians Earl Warren and Richard Nixon. Warren and governors Goodwin Knight and Pat Brown built freeways, schools and community college and university systems that became a national model. In these years, Speaker Jesse Unruh and Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post professionalized the legislative model followed in most other states. California was in many ways a model liberal state, with high wages and powerful labor unions, a highly competent education system and professionalized public services – what Hiram Johnson and his Progressives had in mind when they came to power not long after the turn of the century.

But there was trouble in paradise, trouble that presaged the late 20th-century Americans' disenchantment with the welfare state. Students rioted in Berkeley in 1964, not against the Vietnam War but against the standardization of big institutions like the campus at Berkeley. Blacks rioted in Watts in 1965 even though California had passed model civil rights laws. Watts and Berkeley helped Ronald Reagan beat Pat Brown in 1966. Soon California voters were rebelling at the works of the liberal Legislature. They passed Proposition 13 in 1978, freezing property taxes. They opposed gun control in 1982, and anti-control voters provided key votes for conservative George Deukmejian's victory over Tom Bradley in the '82 gubernatorial contest. They passed term limits in 1990. Democratic legislators had become adept at holding seats while voting for unpopular measures, and handing seats down to their staffers; term limits was an attempt to end this insulation from popular control. All these referenda yielded similar results in other states.

But in the 1990s California has become less typical, less the leader and more the exotic state it was at the beginning of the century. The main reason is immigration. The early 1990s led native-born Californians to leave the state in large numbers, while similarly large numbers of Latino and Asian immigrants moved in. By 1998 the state's population was 31 percent Latino, 12 percent Asian – figures matched by no other state. Voters responded in 1994 by passing Proposition 187, heavily backed by then-Governor Pete Wilson, which banned state government spending on illegal aliens. In 1996 they passed Proposition 209, which banned state use of racial quotas and preferences. In 1998 they passed Proposition 227, which sought to end "bilingual" education programs that kept hundreds of thousands of children in Spanish-speaking classrooms for years. Racial quotas have been an issue in other states and nationally, but there has been little echo from 187 or 227; in Texas and New York, which have many immigrants, Republican governors rejected 187. California's education system now produces some of the nation's lowest test scores, and its declines in crime and welfare have trailed the nation. California's private sector continues to lead the nation, from high-tech to manufacturing, but its public sector — for the moment at least — has little to teach the rest of the country.

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Not to be over

Paring the list of influential Californians down to 30 was no easy task.

By A. G. Block

During the course of this century, uncounted men and women have exerted influence over California government and politics — far more than the 30 we've highlighted on these pages. As we agonized over who would make our list, a number of very worthy individuals were left on the cutting-room floor. Because their accomplishments are noteworthy, we've included below a number of Californians who also have left substantial footprints along the state's historical pathway.

Pictured from top, left to right: Tom Mooney (Bancroft Library), Robert Bradford Marshall (Bancroft Library), Huey Newton (Bancroft Library), Byron Rumford (Bancroft Library), Norm Mineta, Abe Ruef (California Historical Society), Doris Tate (Doris Tate Crime Victims Bureau). *Upper Middle, left to right:* Angela Davis, Henry Waxman, William Rand Hearst (Bancroft Library), Warren Christopher (O'Melveny & Myers LLP *Lower Middle, left to right:* Henry Kaiser (Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation), Howard Berman, Kim Alexander, Jane Fonda, Maxine Waters, C.K. McClatchy, Alice Huffman. *Bottom, left to right:* Walter O'Malley (L.A. Dodgers), Sheridan Downey (Bancroft Library), John Steinbeck (Bancroft Library), Culbert Olson (Bancroft Library), and William Knowland.

Governors

George Deukmejian, lawyer, legislator and attorney general, served as governor from 1983 to 1991. He had a substantial impact on the state Supreme Court by helping oust liberal Chief Justice Rose Bird and by appointing what he called "common sense" judges to all levels of the state's court system. As an early GOP proponent of some forms of gun control, Deukmejian made the issue politically acceptable for Republicans.

Culbert Olson, who served as the first Democratic governor of the 20th century, also left a substantial impact on the state Supreme Court by appointing many of the justices who established a more liberal bent. During his one term as governor (1939-1942), Olson pushed through New Deal-like social legislation and gave organized labor a place at the table. He freed labor agitator Tom Mooney (see below) from prison, thus ending a long chapter in the struggle between workers and management.

Attorney general

Robert Kenny, attorney general from 1943 to 1947, was an important progressive voice in California from the early 1930s until the 1950s. A Democrat, he also was influential in bridging a gap between his party and Republican Governor Earl Warren that helped break partisan gridlock in Sacramento.

Members of Congress

Republican **Robert Dornan** of Garden Grove was a

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ooked

bombastic congressman for more than 20 years, but his impact mostly was felt at the end of that career when he helped spark Latino backlash in Orange County polls on behalf of Democrats. The result not only was the loss of Dornan's congressional seat but GOP losses in the Assembly and state Senate as well. Democratic Senator **Sheridan Downey**, who served from 1939 to 1951, became an influential voice for agricultural interests in the Central Valley. Democrat **Alan Cranston** also served in the Senate, but his main impact was as founder of California Democratic Council, which helped revive the liberal wing of the party. GOP Senator **William Knowland** (1945-1959) was an ambitious conservative whose family controlled Oakland politics for two generations as publishers of the *Oakland Tribune*. Knowland aspired to be president and considered the governorship a better springboard than the U.S. Senate, so he arranged for a job switch with then-GOP Governor Goodwin Knight. The two ran for each other's offices — and both lost; Knowland to the then-attorney general – Pat Brown. Los Angeles Democrat **Maxine Waters**, known for her fiery temperament as well as her staunch support for society's underdogs, rose from the ranks of the state Assembly to become one of her party's most activist political players. Democrat **Henry Waxman**, now in his 25th year in Congress, was part of a political machine that dominated politics in West Los Angeles for more than a decade and played an important role in the reapportionment of 1980.

Members of the Legislature

Howard Berman, now a member of Congress, represented Los Angeles in the Assembly from 1973-1982 and is best known as the other half of the Berman-Waxman political machine, as well as for his bloody and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to oust then-Assembly Speaker **Leo McCarthy**, which ultimately paved the way for Willie Brown Jr.'s speakership in 1980. Assembly Speaker **Ralph Brown** (1955-1958) sponsored the Brown Act, the open-meeting law that has cast more than three decades of sunshine on the workings of California government. Lieutenant Governor **Cruz Bustamante** was the first Latino in this century to be elected to statewide office , following a brief stint as Assembly speaker, where the Fresno Democrat also was the first Latino to hold that post. Senator **Randy Collier** was the father of the state's gas tax, and thus the political engineer who launched California's vast system of highways. Republican **Carol Hallett** served as an accomplished minority leader during the late 1970s and early 1980s. When Democrat Willie Brown Jr. became speaker in 1980, it was Hallett who provided a critical chunk of his GOP votes. **Tom Hayden**, both as an assemblyman and state senator, became a lightning rod for conservatives opposed to his liberal politics. During a career that has spanned nearly two decades, he has authored major environmental legislation. Assembly Speaker **Robert Moretti** (1971-1974) led the Assembly during Ronald Reagan's second term as governor and, although a liberal Democrat, cooperated with Reagan to end partisan gridlock and produce compromise legislation on welfare reform, property tax relief and education. Senator **H.L. Richardson** was the godfather of the hard-core conservatism that

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dominated Republican legislative caucuses during the 1980s and 1990s. He also helped mold the Gun Owners of California into a political force. Assemblyman **Byron Rumford** sponsored the Rumford Fair Housing Act, which ultimately was repealed by voters in 1966. Despite that setback, Rumford was a significant champion of using legislative power to outlaw racial discrimination.

Local officials

Joe Alioto, mayor of San Francisco from 1968 to 1976, presided over his city's transformation from the dark portrait sketched by writer Dashiel Hammett to a modern cosmopolitan metropolis. **Fletcher Bowron**, elected mayor of Los Angeles in 1938 after Mayor Frank Shaw was recalled, took the lead in ending corruption in both Los Angeles city government and its police department. **Norm Mineta** of San Jose was a pioneering politician and one of the first Asians to serve as mayor of a major California city before launching a distinguished 20-year career in the U.S. House of Representatives (1974-1995). **Abe Ruef** was the powerful political boss of San Francisco politics at the turn of the century. He was sent to prison for graft in 1907 after a trial that provided the political springboard for a prosecutor named Hiram Johnson.

Political consultants

Bill Roberts and **Stu Spencer** guided the early political career of Ronald Reagan, engineering his rise to the governorship in 1966. They were the most influential post-World War II Republican campaign consultants, with Spencer continuing as one of President Reagan's close political advisers as well as a leading GOP strategist during Pete Wilson's governorship.

Activists

Kim Alexander, founder of the California Voter Foundation, has been instrumental in placing critical political information before the public on its Web site, especially the electronic reporting of campaign contributions. **Howard Ahmanson Jr.** of Orange County founded, with others, a political-action committee that funneled hundreds of thousands of dollars to conservative Republicans and put financial muscle behind the religious right. **Angela Davis** was a militant civil-rights activist and an outspoken advocate of black power. **Jane Fonda**, like her ex-husband Tom Hayden, was a focal point for conservative politicians while simultaneously helping bolster Hollywood's involvement in Democratic causes. **Candy Lightner** founded Mothers Against Drunk Driving, generating greater public awareness of and stiffer penalties for drunk drivers. **Tom Mooney** was a labor agitator imprisoned for an explosion at the 1916 Preparedness Day Parade in San Francisco. Eventually pardoned by Democratic Governor Culbert Olson in 1939, Mooney's plight became the great labor-liberal rallying cry during the first half of the century. **Alan Nelson** and **Harold Ezell**, federal immigration officials during the Ronald Reagan administration, co-authored Proposition 187, the 1994 initiative that denied social, educational and health benefits to California's illegal immigrants. Their proposal was the centerpiece of a divisive campaign by then-Governor Pete Wilson that drove growing numbers of Latino voters into the arms of the Democratic Party. **Don Novey**, a former prison guard, built the California Correctional Peace Officers Association into a political powerhouse that led to a prison construction surge and stiffer sentencing laws that helped fill those prisons during 16 years of Republican rule. In 1998, Novey's CCPOA came to the aid of Democrats, becoming one of Gov. Gray Davis' biggest benefactors. Similarly, **Alice Huffman** used her close ties to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown to build the political clout of the California Teachers Association, which became one of the most financially powerful special interest groups in modern state history.

Huey Newton served as the symbol of the Black Panthers, a militant, often-violent civil-rights group headquartered in Oakland. **Doris Tate** became one of the prime movers behind the victims' rights movement after her daughter, Sharon Tate, was murdered by cult leader Charles Manson.

Educators

Clark Kerr, president of the University of California from 1958 to 1967, built on the work started by Robert Gordon Sproul and helped create a world-class university system. An acrimonious relationship with Governor Ronald

Publisher's Statement

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Reagan, an outgrowth of Kerr's inability to control free-speech disturbances on campus, led to politicization of the university.

Journalists

William Randolph Hearst played mostly upon the national stage although his California newspapers, predominantly the *Los Angeles Herald-Tribune* and the *San Francisco Examiner*, were extremely influential. In an era when newspaper editorial endorsements carried great clout in elections, **Kyle Palmer** was the highly conservative political editor of the *Los Angeles Times* in the 1930-1950s who used his position to make or break candidates. **Randy Shilts**, reporter and author, wrote "And the Band Played On," an award-winning book that traced the history of AIDS and helped give it heft as a political issue.The **McClatchy** family in Sacramento birthed a small empire of Bees — *the Sacramento, Fresno and Modesto Bees* — giving a powerful voice to the Central Valley and its political dynamics.

Business leaders

Jobs at **Henry Kaiser's** shipyards and factories lured thousands of World War II-era workers to California and formed the centerpiece of the state's post-war economic boom. **Walter O'Malley**, who moved baseball's Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles in 1958, and **Al Davis**, who ping-ponged football's Raiders between Oakland and Los Angeles in the 1980s and '90s, exacted concessions from local governments that established a new dynamic between sports franchises and municipalities eager to attract them. **David Packard** co-founded Hewlett-Packard, the seed that sprouted a fledgling computer industry and eventually grew into the mighty Silicon Valley.

Others

Warren Christopher, a Los Angeles attorney and political counsel to governors and presidents, served as chairman of two commissions — decades apart — that studied civil disturbances in his home city. **Richard Graves** lost the governor's race to Goodwin Knight in 1954, but is best remembered for enhancing the influence of local governments during his decade as executive director of the League of California Cities. **Elizabeth Hill** has expanded the legislative analyst's influence in this era of term limits. **William Bradford Marshall** was an officer in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers when he first conceived and began to promote construction of the Central Valley Project. Author **John Steinbeck** chronicled life along the Monterey Coast and gave voice to the great army of dispossessed that descended on California during the Depression in his seminal book, "The Grapes of Wrath." Chief Justice **Roger John Traynor** presided in the late 1960s, an era when the California Supreme Court was in the national forefront, preceding even the U.S. Supreme Court in expanding the rights of consumers and defendants.

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And Now the Ne'er-do-wells

1953: Artie Samish, the lobbyist once credited with "owning" 30 of the state's legislators, sentenced to three years in jail for tax evasion.

1990: Paul Carpenter (D-Cypress), former state senator, convicted on conspiracy, money-laundering and mail fraud in FBI sting.

1993: Coastal Commissioner Mark Nathanson, a Beverly Hills developer appointed by Speaker Willie Brown, sentenced for racketeering, bribery and tax evasion.

1991: Alan Robbins (D-Van Nuys), former state senator, turned informant after pleading guilty on federal corruption charges in FBI sting.

1994: Pat Nolan (R-Glendale), former Assembly Republican leader, pleaded guilty of corruption charges in FBI sting.

If mush and fluff
were all that riveted us,
we hardly ever
would discuss
doings 'neath the dome
for funds
stuffed flush
with slush.

Such neglectful bluff
would surely kick up
a gust of snuff
from persnickety
historians stuck
on true-life accounts
and accurate stuff.

For politicians
are known to pluck,
here and there,
a buck or bucks
from pockets of
the likes of — what?
Sad but true,
the politically corrupt.

And so, dear public,
we up and muster
the courage to look
beyond the luster.
Widening up our aperture,
we finger here some blunderers
whose venal acts, so sly and sure,
did smudge the virtue
of our Legislature.

— Cynthia H. Craft

1985: W. Patrick Moriarty (left, with his attorney, Don Heller), Orange County fireworks mogul convicted of bribing legislators to get a law passed and laundering campaign cash.

1990: Joseph Montoya (D-Whittier), former state senator, convicted of bribery and money laundering in FBI sting.

1993: Clay Jackson, lobbyist, convicted of racketeering, conspiracy and mail fraud in FBI sting.

1994: Frank Hill (R-Whittier), former state senator, convicted of three counts of corruption charges in FBI sting, and ousted by a vote of the Senate.

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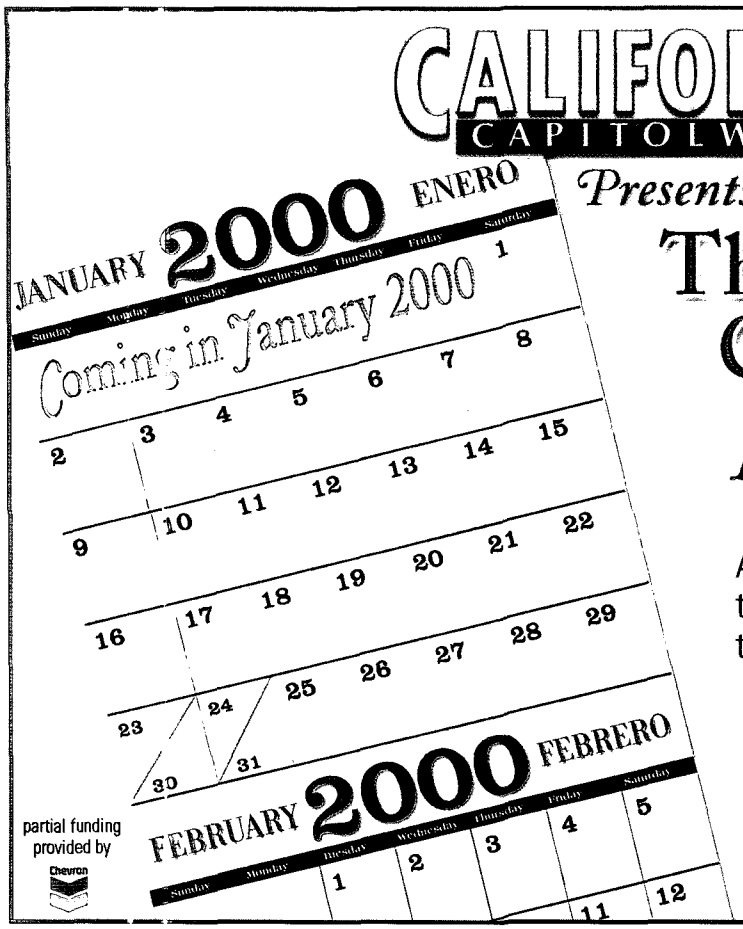

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